

BOOK VI.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

891.245

P.19A V.

V.6.

PARTS XXI—XXIV.

S. C. VASU.

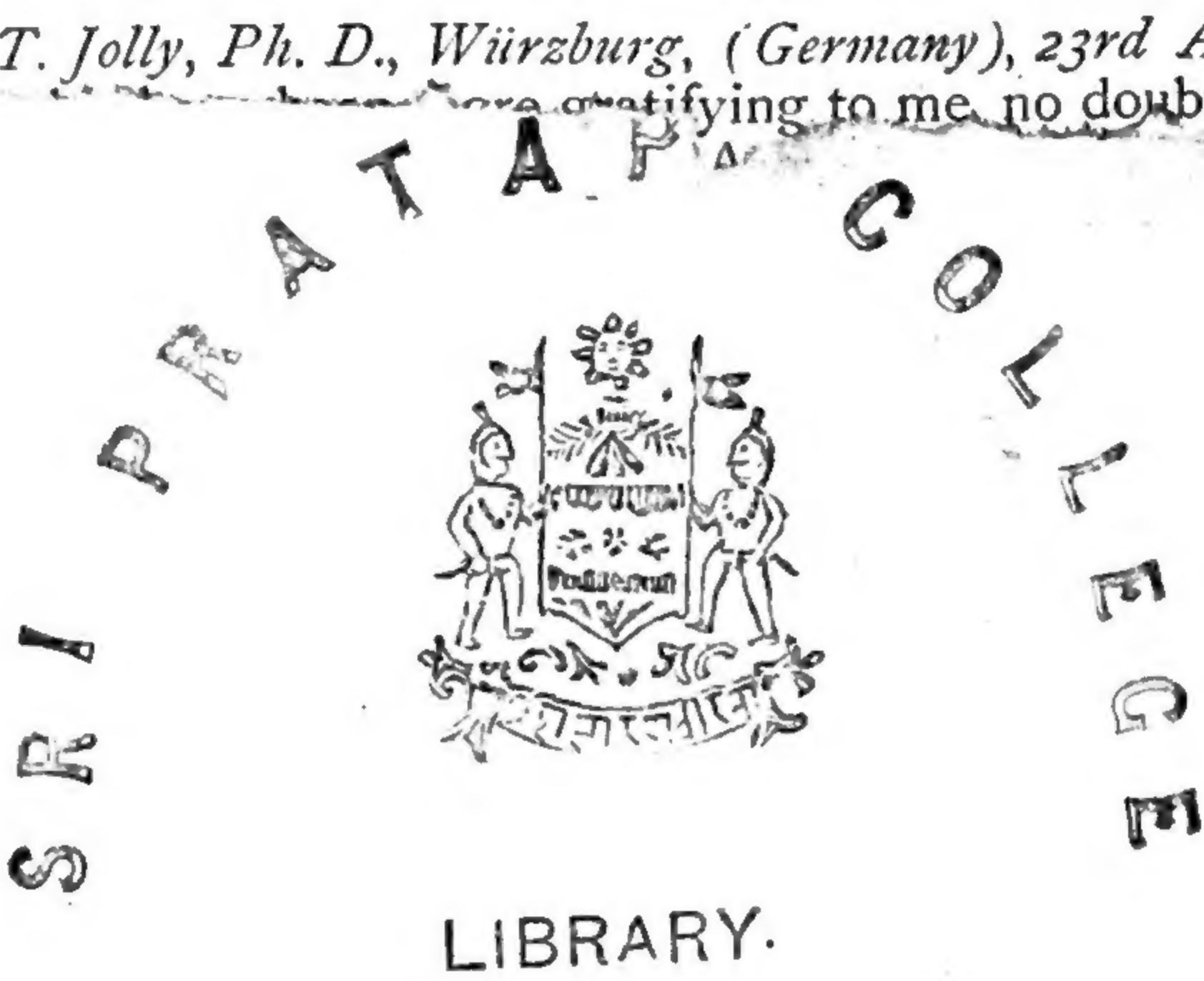
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* The first part that has already been out before the Public shows clearly that the author has spared no pains to make the translation as exact and pithy as possible. The work when completed will no doubt claim a high place amongst the best works by European scholars on Sanskrit Grammar. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book are excellent.

Professor T. Jolly, Ph. D., Würzburg, (Germany), 23rd April, 1893.— **
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यच्छामदीयमातिमादवह वरेण्य सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्य ॥ ३ ॥
चित्रयदस्ति भवतैग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।
लोकेसुचित्ररचनाभरणैकशीला श्रित्रेचचित्रमनसः प्रतिबिम्बमात्रे ॥ ४ ॥
सत्सैग्लिशप्रकादितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षि ।
स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्ताविवृत्तिवर्ये यद्वासुतासुविहिनोग्लिशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनत्वया मुनिमतावृतशास्त्रसंगान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
मन्थस्ययत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिकृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमप्रविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं लाभसुखंशुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविद्वाम्बरतवास्तुमुखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल वर्धभूजां समुद्देश्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्र ॥ ८ ॥

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BOOK VI.

THE ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.

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TO
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Rt. Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

ओ३म् ।

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अच्, द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारो ऽयम् । एकाच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविधानात् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । वक्ष्याति लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरवयवस्यानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

1. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two.

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e., the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra : all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprasâraṇa begins. Thus Sûtra VI. 1. 8 says "when लिट् follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sûtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sûtra, when it will read thus : "when लिट् follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागृः—जजागार (जागृ + णल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + अ = ज + जागृ + अ VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke"). So also पपाच्, इयाय, आर from the roots पच्, इ and ऋ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिट्), the Desiderative (सन्), the Intensive (यङ्), the श्लु vikaraṇa, the Aorist in चङ्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच् प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच् 'the first portion consisting of one vowel'. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ 'to go', then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथम) or ekâch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्”—“An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. So also in पच् there is no *first* syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. 1. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पच् + अ (णल् of लिट्) = पाच् पाच् + अ = प पाच् + अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाच् ॥

The word द्वि in the sūtra indicates that the very word-form is to be doubled or pronounced-twice, and not that another word of similar meaning is substituted. In fact this is not a rule ordaining *substitution* of two, in the room of one; but of the *repetition* of the one. Compare VIII. 1. 1.

अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्विर्वचनापवादोऽयम् । अजादेर्द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रियते । अच् भाविर्यस्य धातो-
स्तत्त्वयवस्य द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

2. Of that whose first syllable begins with a vowel, there are two in the room of the second portion containing a single vowel.

This debar the reduplication of the *first* syllable. In a verbal root beginning with a vowel, and consisting of more than one syllable, the *second* syllable is to be reduplicated and not the first. Thus the सनन्त root अदिष, (अद् + सन् = अद् + इद् + सन् VII. 2. 35 = अदिष), reduplicates the second syllable दिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अदि दिषति, the ष् being elided by VII. 4. 60 : and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिशिषति, अरिरिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, क् + सन् = क् + इद् + सन् (VII. 2. 74) = अर + इ + स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर should take place i. e. the क् the sthânî should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्विर्वचनेऽचि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इद् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इद् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्हि कार्यी निमित्ततया नाश्रीयते “surely that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule”. Thus from the root शीङ् is formed शयिता ; here the root शी is gunated before the augment इद्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of gunation with regard to क्तिन् or ङ्तिन् words does not apply here. For though शीङ् has an indicative ड, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजादेः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजादिः and they consider the word as a Karma-dhâraya compound and not a Bahuvrîhi compound. According to them the word means:—"The syllable *following* the *initial vowel* is reduplicated". (अद्यासावादिश्वेत्यजादिः, अजादेरुत्तरस्य एकाचो द्वे भवतः) ॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

न न्द्राः संयोगादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, न्द्राः, संयोगादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्गते । द्वितीयस्यैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विर्वचनं प्रतिषिध्य-
ते । नकारदकाररेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न हिरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ दकारोपधापदेशे तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्ष्यतेस्तृतीय द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्ठ्वादीनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधातूनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्टं नामधातुष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The letters न्, द् and र् being the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitīyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sūtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (saṅyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन्द् is उन्दिष्, formed by adding सन् and इद् ॥ The second syllable here is न्दिष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्दिषति; so also from अङ्ङ् and अर्च् we have अङ्ङिषति, and अर्चिषति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईचिषति from ईक्ष् in which क् is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to च् ॥ Why do we say "being the first letter in a conjunct consonant"? Observe प्राणिषति from the root अन् 'to breathe', the न् being changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजादेः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus इन्द्रिषति ॥ Some explain the word अजादेः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhâraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्द्रिषति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमिच्छति = इन्द्र + क्यच् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयतुमिच्छति = इन्द्रीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and र् also, as द् and र् are not immediately *after* the *initial vowel* (अजादि) इ in this case.

Vârt:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter द् also. As उब्ज्—उब्जिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate द् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultimate *इ*, then the rule does not apply; the *इ* should then be ordained as a substitute of *इ* ॥ See Tudadi root 20.

Vart:—There is no prohibition of the *इ* when it is followed by *इ* ॥ Thus *अरार्थते* ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb *अर*, and is thus evolved: *अर* + *इ* (III. 1. 22. *Vart*) = *अर* + *इ* (VII. 4. 30) = *अरि*, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable *रि* has an initial *इ* which is not however rejected in reduplication.

Vart:—In the case of the verb *ईर्ष्यति* the third should be reduplicated. “Third of what”? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is *ईर्ष्ययिषति* ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root *ईर्ष्य* (*ईर्ष्य* + *इद्* + *सन्*), the third syllable *य* is reduplicated: Thus *ईर्ष्ययिष*, *ईर्ष्ययिष* (VII. 4. 79) the *अ* of *य* is changed into short *इ* by VII. 4. 79. = *ईर्ष्ययिषति* ॥

Vart:—The third syllable of the verbs *कण्डूय* &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus *कण्डूय* + *इद्* + *सन्* = *कण्डूयिष* = *कण्डूययिषति*; so also *असूययिषति* &c.

Vart:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus *अश्वीययिषति* or *अश्वीयिषति* ॥

Vart:—Others say, any syllable of a *नामधातु* (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun *पुत्र* is derived the root *पुत्रीय*, the desiderative root of which is *पुत्रीयिष*, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated: as. 1. *पुपुत्रीयिषति*, 2. *पुतित्रीयिषति*, 3. *पुत्रीययिषति*, 4. *पुत्रीयिषति* ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as, *पुपुतित्रीययिषति* ॥

पूर्वोभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *इ* इति प्रथमान्तं यदनुवर्तते तदर्थोद्दिष्टं षष्ठ्यन्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये *इ* विहिते तयोर्थः पूर्वो ऽवयवः सो ऽभ्याससंज्ञो भवति ॥

4. The first of the two is called the *Abhyāsa* or the Reduplicate.

The word *इ* in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. *इयोर्थः पूर्वः* “the first of the two” ordained above. The word *Abhyāsa* occurs in sūtras III. 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c.

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *इ* इति वर्तमाने उभेग्रहणं समुदायसंज्ञाप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये *इ* विहिते ते उभे अपि समुचितं अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called *Abhyasta*.

Though the word *इ* was understood in the sūtra, the use of the word *उभे* ‘both’ indicates that the word *Abhyasta* applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word *abhyasta* occurs in sūtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 189 declares “the first vowel of

an Abhyasta gets the udâtta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in ददति dádati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. 1. 4 अन् takes the place of झ after an Abhyasta, therefore, दद + झि = दद + अति = ददति ॥ So also ददत् (VI. 4. 112).

जक्षित्यादयः षट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जक्ष, इत्यादयः, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामिति वर्त्तते । जक्ष इत्ययं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये षट् धातवो ऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं समा-
नां धातूनामभ्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रभृति वेवीङ् वेतिना तुल्यइति यावत् ॥

6. So also the six roots beginning with jakshi are called abhyasta.

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, दरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, दीधी, and वेवी ॥ Pânini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sârva-dhâtuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इद् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाग्रति já-grati, जक्षति jákshati, दरिद्रति dáridrati, चक्रासति chákâsati, शासति sâśati, दीध्यते dīdhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle दीध्यन् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शन् (अन्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नुम् by VII. 1, 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घो ऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामितिप्रकारेआदिशब्दः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजदीर्घोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथा-
भूतास्ते तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुभवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given any where. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as "verbs like tuj". So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the Reduplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus तूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 106 = तूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). मामहानः, अनङ्गान् दाधार, स्वधां मीमाय, स तूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तुताज शबलान् हरीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोस्त्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकरणे छन्शसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटिद्विर्वचने जागर्तेवेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. When the tense-affixes of the Perfect follow, there is reduplication of the root, which is not already reduplicated,

The reduplication is either of the first syllable or of the second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus पच् + णल् = पच् पच् + णल् = पपाच ॥ So also पपाट, प्रोर्णुनाव ॥ In the case of ऊर्णु, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding आम् and the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस्; but regularly. In fact ऊर्णु is regarded as if it was नु ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यङ् प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आम् प्रतियोग्यमेकाचश्चेदुपग्रहात् ॥

Why do we say when लिट् follows? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe ससृवांसो विशृण्विरे, सोममिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhātu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिट् is treated as sārva dhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As श्रु taking the vikaraṇa इनु becomes श्रुनु; (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have श्रुन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यही-
इम् । नोनृततेनोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनृत, and is not reduplicated again, यङ् having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या मरुतः समिमिक्षुः ending in the उस् of the Perfect.

Vārt :—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आदित्यान् याचिषामहे or यियाचिषामहे; देवतानो दाति प्रियाणि or ददाति प्रियाणि ॥ मघवा दातु or ददातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

Vārt :—The root जागृ is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो जागार (or जजागार) तमृचः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वर्तते । सन्यङोरिति च षष्ठ्यन्तमेतत् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोस्त्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचौ द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

9. Of a non-reduplicate root ending in सन् (Desiderative) or यङ् (Intensive) affixes, there is reduplication.

The word सन् यङोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यङ् follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इद् would not, as in अदिदिषति, अशिशिषति ॥

The phrase धातोरनभ्यासस्य is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus पच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) पक्ष, reduplicate पिपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पत्

पिपतिषति, क—अरिषति, उन्—उन्दिषति ॥ So also of यङन्तः—as, पापय्यते (VII. 4. 83), अदाय्यते, यायज्यते, अरार्यते, प्रोष्णोन्त्यते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सते, लोलुप्यते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svârthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलुप्य (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

श्लौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लौ परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोर्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं ह भवतः ॥

10. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the vikaraṇa ślu (श्लु) follows.

The श्लु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa शप् ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus शुहोति (from हु), बिभेति, जिह्नेति ॥

चङि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोर्वयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं ह भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चङ् of the Aorist follows.

The reduplication is of the first or second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus अपीपचन्, अपीपटन्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आदिष्टन्, आशिशन्, आर्दिष्टन् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (ण्यन्त) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign णि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthânivat. For rule VII. 4. 93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which णि followed by चङ् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyâhâra अक् occasioned by the affixing of णि ॥" One of the conditions for the application of this rule is that the reduplicate must be followed by a *light* vowel. We have said above that the long penultimate is to be shortened before चङ् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthânivat âdeśa (I. 1. 56), or not? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthânivadbhâva will arise then only when some operation is to be done to a thing *anterior* to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something *anterior* to such original (अनादिष्ट) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आदिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वज्ञाव ॥ If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of णि (VI. 4. 51) 2nd the shortening of the penultimate (VII 4. 4) 3rd the reduplication. If the reduplication take place first and the vowel be shortened, then the reduplication having taken place before the substitution of the vowel had taken place, such substitute will now be considered as sthânivad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्वज्ञाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमत्, where the short is ordained after the णि ॥ If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable टि in the word अटिटत् ? This is, however, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वान्श्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीढ्वान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते शब्दाश्छन्दसि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृमादीनां के हे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरिचलिपतिवदीनां द्वित्वमध्यकृचाभ्यासस्य ॥

वा० ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्धत्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पाठेर्णिलुक् चोक् च दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles dâśvân, sâhvân and mîdhvân are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दाश्वान् is from the root दाश् 'to give' with the affix क्त्वा (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इद् are prohibited irregularly. As दाश्वान्तो दाशुषः सुतम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साह्वान् is derived from the root सह 'to endure', by adding the affix क्त्वा (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment इद् and the reduplication. Thus साह्वान् बलाहकः ॥ So also मीढ्वान् comes from मिष् 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्त्वा (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इद्, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of ह into ढ ॥ As मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मृडय ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vart:—Reduplication takes place when कृञ् &c, are followed by the affix क् ॥ Thus क्रियते अनेन = कृ + क = चक्रम्, क्लिद् + क = चिक्लिदम् ॥ The affix क् comes after कृञ् and क्लिद् with the force of the affix घञ् ॥

Vart:—The roots चर्, चल्, पत्, and वद् take reduplication when followed by the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyâsa) takes the augment आक् ॥ The final consonants of the Abhyâsa (reduplicate) are not elided in these verbs, in order to give scope to the augment, for if the final consonants be elided by VII. 4. 60, then the addition of the augment becomes unnecessary; as there is no difference between the augment and the âdesa (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus चराचरः, चलाचल, पतापतः, वरावरः ॥

Vart:—The above *vartika* is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरुषः, चलो रथः, वरो मनुष्यः &c.

Vart:—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix भञ्च्, and the augment आक् comes after the Abhyāsa, and ष is the substitute of ह of the Abhyāsa. Thus हन् + भञ्च् = घन् + आक् + हन् + भञ्च् = घनाघनः (The second ह is changed into ष by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः क्षोभनश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Vart:—The causative root पादि is reduplicated before the affix भञ्च्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and उक् is the augment of the Abhyāsa, and it is lengthened. Thus पादि + भञ्च् = पादूपदः ॥

व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यङ्ः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्र पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यङ्ः सम्प्रसारणे गौकाक्षायाः पतिवोधः ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix व्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषस्यैव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samāsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + भञ्च् (IV. 1. 92) = कारीषगन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कारीषगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final य् will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः ० कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say “of the affix व्यङ्”? Observe इभ्यापुत्रः, क्षात्रयापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say “when followed by पुत्र or पति”? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say “when forming a Tatpurusha compound”? Observe कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरयं ग्रामः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix व्यङ् is here the feminine affix य् followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

A general maxim relating to all affixes is “an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तद्विस्तन्तस्य ग्रहणम्” ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule “a feminine affix denotes whenever

it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word form is subordinate : स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुत्र and पति alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end : not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in व्यङ् may have may semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix य (व्यङ्) only, according to the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यदेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated".

The word संप्रसारण has regulating influence upto VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these sūtras.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्ष्य ॥ As गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः, गौकाक्ष्यायातः instead of गौकाक्ष्यपुत्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुशब्दउत्तरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे व्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वा० ॥ मातृचमातृकमातृषु ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix व्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौमुदगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुधनः, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of व्यङ् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृच्, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातृः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृः, कारीषगन्धीमातृकः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ The indicatory च of मातृच् makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in क् take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृच् would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मातृच् and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional.

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वर्तते । व्यङ् इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । वचो वचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥ त्रिष्वप् शये । यजादयो, यज देवपूजासंगतिकरणदानेभ्यस्ततःप्रभृति भा गणान्तात् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजादि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicative क ॥

The anuvritti of व्यङ् does not run into this sūtra. The root वच् includes the वच् परिभाषणे of the Adâdi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of वृ (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root त्रिष्वप् शये of the Adâdi class (II 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvâdi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह्, वस्, वेम्, व्येम्, ह्वेम्, वद् and ध्वि ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicative क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes क्त and क्तवत् we have the following forms:—
1. वच्—उक्तः, उक्तवान्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् 3 यज्—इष्टः, इष्टवान्, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उप्तः, उप्तवान्, 5 वह्—ऊढः, ऊढवान् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वस्—ऊषितः ऊषितवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेम्—उतः, उतवान्, 8 व्येम्—संवीतः, संवीतवान्, 9 ह्वेम्—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उरितः, उरितवान्, 11 दुओध्वि—शूनः, शूनवान् ॥

धातो स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यय कार्यं विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātu) specifically, and not by using the word “dhātu”, generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by enunciating the word धातोः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word धौणहत्यम् in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following वाच्यति, वाचिकः ॥ Here वाच्यति is formed by adding क्यच् to वाच् (वाचमिच्छति) ॥ वाच् is formed by क्तिप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and samprasârana being expressly prevented by Unâdi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix क्तिप्, विद्, or विच् does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix क्यच् ॥ But क्यच् is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a सुवन्त (सुपभात्मनः क्यच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाचिकः formed by adding क्त to वाच् (See Vârt. V. 3. 83).

ग्रहज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां किति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहि, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, किति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपदाने, ज्या वयोहानौ, वेम्नो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वश कान्तौ, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, भोव्रश्चूछेदने, प्रच्छ क्षीप्तायां, भस्ज पाके, इत्येतेषां धातूनां किति प्रत्यये परतश्चकारात्किति च संप्रसारणं भवति । परिभाषा ॥ निष्ठादेशः षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीद्विधिषु सिद्धावक्तव्यः ॥

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or क् follows:—ग्रह 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेञ्ज 'to weave', व्यध 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', व्रश्च 'to cut', प्रच्छ 'to ask', and स्रज्ज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of कृति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीतः, गृहीतवान् (by क्त and क्तवतु), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), गृहीतव्यते (by वृद्ध of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त changed to न), जिनाति (I. 2. 4), the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. जेजीयते (यङ्), 3. वयि—The root वेञ्ज is replaced by वय when लिट् follows (II. 4. 41). This वयि can have no क्ति affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are क्ति (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of क्ति affixes only. Thus ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वयि, for is not वेञ्ज (for which वयि is substituted) already included in यञादि class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वयि will get samprasāraṇa before क्ति affixes", The reply is "वयि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वेञ्ज as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वयि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेञ्ज is ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः, the Perfect of its substitute वयि is ऊवाय, ऊयतुः and ऊयुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वयि is not vocalised in लिट् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñāpaka) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वयि will be vocalised. 4. व्यध—विद्धः, विद्धवान्, and with क्ति affixes विध्यति, वेविध्यते ॥ 5. वश—उशितः, उशितवान्, and with क्ति affixes उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचितः, विचितवान्, विचात वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vār-tika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कुटादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ण्, ञ् or the affix भस्, are considered as क्ति, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes : as, उद्विचिता, उद्विचितुम्, उद्विचितव्यम् ॥ 7. वृश्च—वृक्कणः, वृक्कणवान् ॥ How is the final च् of वृश्च changed into क्, for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into ष before the झलादि affix क्त? To this we reply the affix क्त is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a झलादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim : "The substitute of the Nishṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into ष, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इद्". But when च is to be changed into क, the substitute is considered asiddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृक्कणः &c. Before क्ति affixes we have वृश्चति, वरीवृश्च्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, क्ति—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छते ॥ The forms पप्रच्छ and वव्रश्च would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छु + नह् (III. 3. 90) = प्रहनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pānini himself uses the word प्रहनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9. भस्ज—भृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), भृष्टवान्, डित्—भृज्जति, बरी भृज्ज्यते ॥ The स of भस्ज is changed first into ह by मलां जश ह्रासि (VIII. 4. 53), and then ह is changed into ज by स्तोः ऋतुना ऋतुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषाम्, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यादीनां ग्राहीनां च लिटि परतो ऽभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

17. There takes place vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the reduplicate (abhyâsa) of both vachyâdi (VI. 1. 15) and grahâdi (VI. 1. 16) words, when the affixes of लिट् follow.

Thus वच—उवाच, उवाचिथ, स्वप्—सुष्वाप, सुष्वपिथ, यज—इयाज, इयजिथ, दुवप्—उवाप, उवापिथ ॥ As regards ग्राहि verbs; गृह—जग्राह, जग्राहिथ (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). वृथा—जिड्यौ, जिड्यिथ, वयि—उवाय, and उवायिथ; व्यथ—विव्याध, विव्यधिथ, वश—उवाश, उवाशिथ, व्यच्—विव्याच, विव्यचिथ, व्रश्च—वव्रश्च and वव्रश्चिथ ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्च, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश्च + णल् = व्रश् + व्रश्च् + भ = व + व्रश्च् + भ (इलाहि शेषः VII. 4. 60) = वव्रश्च ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the र, then you will have to vocalise व by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश्च also, for having changed र into ऋ, we have वृव्रश्च् and then change ऋ into भ by VII. 4. 66. Then this भ substitute becomes sthânavat to ऋ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this व, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छु and भस्ज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not क्तिन् ॥ With regard to क्तिन् affixes, the Rule VI. 1. 15 will apply. And as the rule of vocalisation is subsequent to that of reduplication in order, therefore by the maxim of परत्व I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानास्तिद्वयम् "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule". Thus वच् + भतुः (which is क्तिन् I. 2. 5) = उवच् + भतुः = उवच् + उवच् + भतुः = ऊवतुः, ऊवतुः ॥

Though the phrase **व्ययषाम्** could have been supplied into this sūtra by the context and the governing scope of the preceding sūtras, its express mention in this sūtra is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of **हलादिः शेषः VII. 4. 60**, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus **व्यध+णल्=व्य+व्यध+अ** ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant **य** of **व्य** ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood **व+व्यध्+अ**, and there would have been vocalisation of **व** by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of **य** and we have **विव्याध** ॥ In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is:—"The samprasâraṇa and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable". **संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥**

स्वापेश्वाङि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापेः, चङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेरिति स्वपेर्न्यन्तस्य ग्रहणं तस्य चङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

18. Of the causative verb **स्वापि** "to cause one to sleep", there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix **चङ्** of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of **स्वापि** is **असूषुपत्, असूषुपताम्, असूषुपन् ॥** The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is guṇa of the penultimate short vowel, then this is again shortened by VII. 4. 1, then there is reduplication, and then lengthening of the vowel of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 94. Thus **स्वापि+चङ्=सुपि+चङ्=सुप् (VI. 4. 51)+चङ् (VII. 3. 86)=सोप्+चङ्=सुप्+चङ् (VII. 4. 1)=सु+सुप्+चङ् (VI. 1. 11)=सूषुपत् (VII. 4. 94)** which with the augment **अ** becomes **असूषुपत् ॥**

Why do we say 'when **चङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥** The anuvritti of **किति** has ceased, that of **ङिति** however is here.

स्वपिस्यामिव्येजां यङि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यामि, व्येजाम्, यङि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिष्वप् शये स्यमु स्वन ध्वन शब्दे, व्येज् संवरणे, इत्येतषां धातूनां यङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs **स्वप्** 'to sleep', **स्याम्** 'to shout', and **व्ये** 'to cover', when followed by the affix **यङ्** of the Intensive.

Thus **सोषुप्यते, सोसिम्यते, वेवीयते (VII. 4. 25 the short इ is lengthened)**. Why do we say 'when **यङ्** follows'? Observe **स्वप्नक्** formed by **नजिद् III. 2. 172**.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । वशेर्द्धातोर्यङि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of **वश**, when the affix **यङ्** follows.

The word यङि is understood here. As वावश्यते, वावश्येते, वावश्यन्ते ॥ Why do we say “when यङ् follows”? Observe उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । चयि पूजानिशामनयोरित्येतस्य धातोर्याङि परतः कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

21. The verb की is substituted for the verb चायु ‘to worship, to observe’, when the Intensive affix यङ् follows.

The phrase यङि is understood here. Thus चेकीयन्ते, चेकीयेते, चेकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यङ् is elided, as चेकीतः ॥ For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चायु, the forms चेकीयन्ते &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यङ् = चि + कि + य = चे + कि + य = चे + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short इ). But then the Nishthā would have been चेकितः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. The स्फी is the substitute of स्फाय ‘to swell’, when the Nishthā affixes follow.

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥ Why do we say “when the Nishthā affixes follow”? Observe स्फातिः formed by क्तिन् ॥ In the phrase स्फाती भवति, the word स्फाती is the feminine of the word स्फाति formed by क्तिन् ॥ The phrase निष्ठायाम् “when the Nishthā follows” governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. 1. 29.

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामिति वर्त्तते सम्प्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतन्न स्वर्यते । स्त्ये ङ्यै शब्दसंघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येतयोर्द्धात्वोः स्त्यारूपमापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः सम्प्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्यै and ङ्यै) when preceded by प्र changes its semivowel to a vowel, when a Nishthā affix follows.

The phrases “when the nishthā follows”, and “there is vocalisation” are understood here. The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here. The roots स्त्यै and ङ्यै both assume the form स्त्या and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + क्त = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The त् of nishthā affix would have been changed into न् by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्या has a semivowel and ends in long आ ॥ But by the vocalisation of य, the condition of यण्वत् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix त् is not changed to न् ॥ But त् is optionally changed to म् by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

Why do we say “when preceded by प्र”? Observe संस्त्यानः (VIII. 2. 43), संस्त्यानवान् ॥ If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when प्र

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus प्रसंस्तीतः ॥ The use of the word पूर्वस्य implies that the rule applies when प्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रसंस्तीतः, प्रसंस्तीतवान् ॥ The compound प्रपूर्वस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrīhi = प्रः पूर्वो यस्य धातूपसर्ग-समुदायस्य स प्रपूर्व (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by प्र is called प्रपूर्व). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रसंस्तीतः &c.

द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः श्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्ति, स्पर्शयोः, श्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्तौ द्रवकाठिन्ये स्पर्शे वर्तमानस्य श्येङ् गतावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root श्या (श्यै) 'to go' when the nishṭhâ affixes follow, when the sense is "coagulation" or "cold to touch".

The word द्रवमूर्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीनं घृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेदः "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The त् of nishṭhâ is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold', the त् is not changed; as शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुदकम् ॥ The word शीत is here used both as a noun meaning 'cold weather &c', and an adjective denoting 'cold'. There is no vocalisation when the sense is not that of 'coagulation' or 'cold', as संश्यानो वृश्चिकः 'the rolled up scorpion'. The short इ is lengthened in शीन &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेश्च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of श्या preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishṭhâ affixes follow.

Thus प्रतिशीनः प्रतिशीनवान् ॥ This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of "coagulation" or "cold".

विभाषा ऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्तते । अभि अव इत्येवंपूर्वस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of श्या followed by the Nishṭhâ affixes, when the upasargas अभि and अव precede it.

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिश्यानम् घृतं, अवशीनम् or अवश्यानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means "coagulation" and "cold". As अवशीनं or अवश्यानं घृतं, मेदः ॥ अवशीतो or अवश्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं or अवश्यानमुदकं ॥

The पूर्व in this sūtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus अभिसंशीनं or अभिसंश्यानं, अवसंशीनं, अवसंश्यानं ॥ According to the author of Siddhānta Kaumudī, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence there is no option allowed when अभि and अव are in the middle, as, समभिश्यानं, समवश्यानं ॥ Here we cannot have the alternative forms समभिशीनं &c.

शृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृतम्, पाके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्त्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्ण्यन्तस्याण्यन्तस्य च पाके ऽभिषेये क्तप्रत्यये परतः
बृभावो निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

27. Optionally शृतं is formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of आ before the nishthâ affix क्त ॥

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots श्रे 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Adâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi sub-class Ghatâdi, are meant here. In all these, शृ replaces आ, whether causative or not. Thus शृतं क्षीरं, शृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ; so that आ is invariably changed to शृ when referring to क्षीर and हवि, but not anywhere else. Thus आणा यवागूः, अपिता यवागूः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As अपितं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तेन "Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked". The आ is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form शृत is to be used. As शृतं क्षीरं स्वयमव, शृतं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय् 'to increase' before the Nishthâ affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvâdi class. The indicator आ shows that the affixes त् and तवत् are changed into न् and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं मुखम्, पीनौ बाहू, पीनधुरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः आप्यानश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आङ् precedes the root, and the words अन्धुः and ऊधस् are in composition : as आपीनोन्धुः, आपीनमूधः ॥

लिङ्यङोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यङोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्चशब्देनानुकूष्यते । लिङि यङि च परतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय् when the affixes of the Perfect (लिङ्) and the Intensive (यङ्) follow.

The anuvritti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sūtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus आपिप्ये, आपिप्येते, आपिप्यिरे ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debarred reduplication which precedes it in order. The reduplication, however, takes place after the substitution, by force of the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्ग &c men-

tioned in VI. I. 17. Thus पी + लिट् = पि + पी + त = पि + प्य + ए (VI. 4. 82 the य being substituted) = आपिप्ये with the affix भा. So also in the Intensive, as आपिपीयते, आपिपीयेते, आपिपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा श्वेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्यङोरिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यङि च श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

30. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्वि before the affixes of the Perfect and the Intensive.

The phrases लिङ् यङोः and संप्रसारणं are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुशावे or शिश्वाय, शुशुवतुः or शिश्वियतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीशूयते or शश्चीयते ॥ The root श्वि would not have taken vocalisation before यङ् by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिट्, which is a क्तिन् affix, invariably by VI. I. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. I. 17. This explains the form शिश्वाय, which by VI. I. 17 would have been शुश्वाय ॥ श्वि + णल् = (श् उइ + णल् VI. I. 30) = शु + णल् (VI. I. 108) = शु + शु + अ (VI. I. 8) = शुशाव ॥

णौ च संश्रङोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्, चङोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा श्वेरिति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च णौ परतः श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of श्वि, when followed by the Desiderative सन् and the Aorist चङ् affix.

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुशावयिषति or शिश्वाययिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ्, as अशुशवन् or अशिश्वयन् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवति (see sūtra VI. I. 17), the antaranga substitution of Vṛiddhi &c is superseded by the samprasâraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛiddhi and the substitution of आव take place *after* the samprasâraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of ई for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि is sthânavat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. I. 59). Thus श्वि + णि = श्वै + इ = श्वाय् + इ = श्वाय ॥ In reduplicating श्वायि we cannot form श्वाश्वाय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ of श्वि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्वाययिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vṛiddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि + णि + सन् (VI. I. 108) = शु + णि + सन् = शौ + इ + सन् = शाव् + इ + इट् + सन् = शावे + इट् + सन् = शावयि + सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute आत् in शात् though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthânavat under I. 1. 59 to उ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: भि + णि + चङ् = शु + इ + भ = शु + शु + इ + भ = शु + शौ + इ + भ = शु + शात् + इ + भ = शु + शव् + इ + भ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + शव् + ० + भ (VI. 4. 51) = अशूशवत् (VII. 4. 94)

हः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संश्रद्धोरिति वर्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च णौ परतो हः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* (ह्वे) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus जुहाव-यिषति and जुहावयिषतः, जुहावयिषन्ति; अजुहवत्, अजुहवताम् and अजुहवन् ॥ The root ह्वा does not take the augment य required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix णि, because the Samprasârana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasârana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As ह्वायकमिच्छति = ह्वायकीयति; the Desiderative of this verb is जिह्वायकीयति ॥

अभ्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इति वर्तते, तदभ्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्वयतिः, कश्चाभ्यस्तस्य ह्वयतिः, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्वयतेः प्रागेव द्विर्वचनात्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of ह्वा in the reduplicated form, in both the syllables.

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus जुहाव, जोह्वयते, and जुह्वयति ॥ This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pânini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vârtika.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह इति वर्तते । छन्दसि विषये ह्वयतेर्द्रातो बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

34. In the Chhandas, the semivowel of this root is diversely vocalised.

Thus हुवे or ह्वयामि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. देवी सरस्वती हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana णप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उदङ् ॥ So also ह्वयामि मरुतः शिवान्, ह्वयामि विद्वान् देवान् ॥ So also हवः as शुभीहवम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्तते । चायतेर्द्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये बहुलं कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. For चाय् is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus विधुना निचिक्युः, नान्यं चिक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उस् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अग्नि-
व्योतिर्निचाय्यः ॥

अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजभ्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्त्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्,
आशीः, आशीर्त्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्त्ताः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते
छन्दसि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, भ्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्त्ताः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पर्द्ध 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेथाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यस्पस्पृधेथाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अस्पृधेथाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पर्द्ध with the preposition अप, the vocalisation of र्, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अद् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पृधेथाम् ॥ From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, there being vocalisation of र् and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then क् changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as :
अर्च + उस् = अर्च् + उस् = अ + अर्च् + उस् = अ + अर्च् + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + अर्च् + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + नृ + अर्च् + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus ययमा अर्कमानृचुः, न वसुन्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनर्चुः, आनर्हुः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go' : there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इद् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तित्याज ॥ From the root श्रीञ् 'to cook', is derived भ्राता before the Nishṭhā affix, श्री changed to भ्रा irregularly. As भ्रातास्त इन्द्रसामाः ॥ The form श्रितम् is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the भ्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and श्रि when it refers to other

than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि आतो जुहोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आताः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root श्री, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्तिप् and क्त respectively. Before these श्री is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त ऊर्जम्, शीर्मेभ्यत आशीर्त्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ यदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।

नार्त्तिकम् ॥ अचि त्रेहत्तरपदादिलोपश्छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ र्येर्मतौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

Thus व्यध्; has two semi-vowels व् and य्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विद्धः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्यञ्—संवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व् being changed to उ, the य् is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the samprasāraṇa of व् coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य् and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of त्रि when followed by कच्, and there is elision of the क् of कच्, when it refers to Metres. As तिस्र कचो यस्मिन् = तृचं सुक्तं ॥ तृचं साम ॥ The word तृच् takes the samāsānta affix अ by V. 4 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe तृचं कर्म ॥

Vārt:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रयि followed by the affix मतुप् as रयि + मतु = रइ + मतु = र + इ + मतु = र + इ-वत् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, आ रेवानेतु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रयिमान् पुष्टिवर्द्धनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vārt:—There is vocalisation of कक्ष्या before मतु when a Name is meant: as कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥ This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कक्षीवत् is given.

लिटि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । लिटि परतो वयो यकारस्य संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

38. In the substituted root वय (II. 4. 41), the य in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न संप्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिट् is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्वास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिटि परतो वकारादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory क (I. 2. 5), for the य् of वय् may optionally be substituted a व् ॥

Thus ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊवुः or ऊयुः ॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वश्वास्य of this sūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्यां किति वेञ्जः ॥ Thus वे + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस् = उ + उवङ् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊवुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्वास्य ॥

वेञ्जः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञ्जः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिटित्यनुवर्त्तते । वेञ्ज् तन्तुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of वे 'to weave' is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यजादि class and would have been vocalised before कित् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-कित् affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्यपि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेञ्ज इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि च परतो व्यञ्जः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वे is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्यप् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या वयोहानावित्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

42. The semivowel of ज्या 'to grow old' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्येच् संवरणइत्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

43. The semivowel of व्या (व्ये) 'to cover' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

As प्रव्याय, उपव्याय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यश्चेत्यनुवर्तते । परेरुत्तरस्य व्येचित्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when व्ये preceded by परि takes the affix ल्यप् ॥

Thus परिवीय यूपम् or पारव्याय ॥ The augment तुक् presented by VI. 1. 71 is debarred by VI. 4. 2. which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आदेच उपदेशे ऽशिति ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, एचः, उपदेशे, अशिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातो रिति वर्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरूपदेशे तस्याकारादेशो भवति शिति तु प्रत्यये न भवति ॥

45. In a root, which in the system of grammatical instruction (i. e. in the Dhâtupâṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ऐ, ओ and औ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

The word धातोः is to be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लौ-ग्लाता, ग्लातुम्, ग्लातव्यम्, शौ—निशाता, निशातुम्, निशातव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्त्ता from कृ, and हर्त्ता from हृ ॥ Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhâtupâṭha? Observe चेता, स्तोता where चे and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-ल-शप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, म्लायति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ले, मग्ले ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिदादि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादावल् महणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative

case, and qualifies some thing else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending with it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः, a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एच् vowels, is not caused by the affixes that follow, but must take place prior to the occasion for the application of the affixes arises. Thus III. 1. 136 ordains क् after roots ending in आ; so that ग्लै and म्लै are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुम्लः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply युच् to ग्लै and म्लै by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुम्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57

न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ् इत्येतस्य धातोर्लिटि परत आकारादेशो न भवति ॥

46. There is not the substitution of आ for the Diphthong of the root व्ये when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus संविन्याय, संविन्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविन्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the णित् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घञि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेश इति वर्तते । स्फुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोरेचः स्थाने घञि परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

47. In the roots स्फुर् and स्फुल् 'to move', there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix घञ् follows.

Thus विस्फारः instead of विस्फोरः, and विस्फालः instead of विस्फोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ष after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीड्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इड्, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये, इड् अध्ययने, जि जये, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

48. The substitution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots क्री 'to by', इ 'to study' and जि 'to conquer.'

Thus क्रापयति, अध्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment ष् is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्तते । विधु हिंसासंराद्धो रित्यस्य धातोर्पारलौकिकेये वर्तमानस्यैचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of सिध्, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word पारलौकिक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix डञ् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. 1. 109). The double Vrid-dhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to भज्ज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, ग्रामं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See तपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्येवनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिध्यति = ज्ञानावशेषमासादयति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोकं) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधन of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for ए ॥ Why the substitution does not take place here : अन्नं साधयति, ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दास्यामि 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmanas'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of दान and not of the verb सिध्, the substitution does take place. When the verb सिध् *directly* and not through the mediation of another action, produces pârâloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Divâdi class and not to the Bhvâdi, as the form सिध्यति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ल्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीङाम्, ल्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेश उपदेश इति वर्तते । मीम् हिंसायाम्, डुमिञ् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ल्यपि विषये चकारादेशश्च विषये उपदेश एव प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पत्तेरलोन्त्यस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of मी 'to hurt', मि 'to scatter', and दी 'to decay' when the affix ल्यप् follows, as well as before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than णिञ्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आत्वं भवति) ॥ So that these verbs should be understood as if they were enunciated with an आ, so that all rules of affixes relating to आ will apply to them. Thus प्रमाता, प्रमातव्यम्, प्रमातुम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातुम्, निमातव्यम्, निमाय, उपशता, उपशतव्यम्, उपशतुम्, उपशाय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhâtupâṭha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in इ or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपशयो वर्त्तते, ईषदुपशानं, formed by घञ् and युच् by taking दी=रा and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes अच् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयतेः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीति वर्त्तते, आदेच उपदेशइति च । लीङ् श्लेषणइति दिवादिः ली श्लेषणइति कषादिस्तयोह-भयोरापि यक्ता निर्देशः स्मर्यते । लीयतर्द्धातोर्ल्याप च एचश्च विषये उपदेशएवालोन्त्यस्य स्थाने विभाषा आका-रादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमीमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhâtupâṭha, when the affix ल्यप् follows or such an affix as would demand this substitution of the diphthong.

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before शित् affixes, and will become ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, गुर्=गोर् and ओ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvritti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sūtras. The words ल्याप and आदेच उपदेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divâdi and Kriyâdi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातव्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vart:—The आ substitution does not take place when the affix अच् (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and खल् (III. 3. 126) come after नि, मि, मी and ली : as, ईषन्निमयः, निमयो वर्त्तते । ईषत्प्रमयः, प्रमयो वर्त्तते । ईषद् विलयः, विलयो वर्त्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वामुज्जापयते, श्येनो वृत्तिकामुज्जापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ) The substitution of आ for the final of ई is *optional* when the sense of the root is not that of 'showing respect', 'subduing' or 'deceiving'. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is *compulsory*. See I. 1. 70.

खिदेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति वर्त्तते । खिद्वैत्यइत्यस्य धातोरेचः स्थानेः छन्दासि विषये विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb खिद् 'to suffer pain', in the Chhandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चिखार or चिखेर ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुरी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोरपपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root गुर 'to exert' when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix णमुल् ॥

The affix णमुल् forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपगारमपगारम् or अपगारमपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगोरं युध्यन्ते "they are fighting with raised swords'.

चिस्फुरोर्णौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिञ् स्फुर इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्णौ परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the roots चि and स्फुर when in the Causative.

Thus चापयति, चाययति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of प्) so also स्फारयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रजने वीयतेः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णावीते वर्तते । वी गतिप्रजनकान्त्यस्तनखाशनेषु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजने वर्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

55. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root वी in the causative, when meaning 'to conceive an embryo'.

The root वी Adâdi 39 means 'to go, to conceive, to shine, to eat, and to desire'. The substitution takes place when it means 'to impregnate or conceive'. Thus पुरो वातो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं माह्वयति ॥ The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विभेतेर्हेतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभेतेः, हेतु भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णावीते वर्तते विभाषेति च । हेतुर्हि पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यद्भयम्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्धेतुः, तद्भयं हेतुभयम् । तत्र वर्तमानस्य विभी भयइत्यस्य धातोर्णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

56. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root भो 'to fear', in the Causative, when the fear is produced directly through the agent of the causative.

The words णौ and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55). When the

Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the हेतुभय "the fear caused by the Hetu". Thus मुण्डो भाषयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जाटिलो भाषयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment ष is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + ई i. e. भी ending in ई; and means भी ending in ई takes the augment ष ॥

Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयैनं भाषयति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the कुञ्चिका and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णावेति वर्तते, हेतुभयइति च । नित्यग्रहणाद्विभाषति निवृत्तम् । स्मिङ् इङ्फुल्लसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतु-
भयैर्णौ परतो नित्यमाक्रोदेशो भवति ॥

57. There is invariably the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root स्मि 'to smile' in the Causative, when the astonishment is produced directly through the Agent of the Causative.

The words णौ and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus मुण्डोजाटिलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकयैनं विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयति i. e. 'wondering, feeling astonished'. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भय by its connection with भीस्मि together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

सृजिदृशोर्ज्ञल्यमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दृशोः, ज्ञलि, अम्, अकिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृज विसर्गे, दृशिर प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वाद्ज्ञलादावाकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽमागमो भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the ऋ of सृज् 'to create', and दृश 'to see', when an affix beginning with a ज्ञल् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatry क् ॥

Thus सृज् + णृन् = सृ + अ + ज् + णृ = सृष्टुम् nom. sing. सृष्टा, so also सृष्टुम्, सृष्टव्यम्, दृष्टा, दृष्टुम्, दृष्टव्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the गुण substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अस्माक्षीन् and अद्राक्षीन् the Vṛiddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अम् had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe सज्जनम्, दर्शनम् with यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe सृष्टः, दृष्टः before the affix क् ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sūtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to noun follow. Thus रज्जुसृङ्भ्याम्, देवदृग्भ्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्ये applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋत्, उ
पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशइति वर्त्तते, झल्यमकृतीति च । उपदेशे ऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ऋकारोपधस्य झलादावकृति प्रत्यये
परतो ऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the
ऋ of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as
anudâṭṭa, when such roots end in a consonant having a ऋ as
penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a
mute or sibilant and not having an indicatory क ॥

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also झल्यमकृति ॥ Thus व्रप्ता or
तर्पिता or तर्प्ता, द्रप्ता, हर्पिता or दर्प्ता ॥ The roots तृप् 'to satisfy', and हृप् 'to be happy
to release', belong to Divâdi class, sub-class Radhâdi, and they take the aug-
ment इद् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above : for
these roots are also anudâṭṭa in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâṭṭa in the Upadesâ or the system
of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्द्धा, वर्द्धुम्, वर्द्धव्यम्, from वहू उद्यमन् which
is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory ऊ it takes इद् optionally.
Why do we say 'having a penultimate ऋ letter'? Observe भेत्ता, छत्ता ॥ Why
do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe
तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicatory क'? Observe तृप्तः,
हृप्तः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a झल् consonant this augment will not
be inserted, as तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षश्छन्दसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शीर्षन्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति शब्दान्तरं शिरःशब्देन समानार्थं छन्दसि विषये निपात्यते ॥

60. The word शीर्षन् is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head'. This is not a
substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्ष्णा
हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते शीर्ष्णो वैर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only
one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्धिते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वर्त्तते । आदेशोयमिष्यते स कथं तद्धितइति हि परं निमित्तमुपादीयते स तद्विरूपां
प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकारादौ तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा केशेषु ॥

61. There is the substitution of this stem शीर्षन्
for शिरस् when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here. This rule teaches substitution.
The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we
must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुख्यो भवति,

शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यत् is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word शीर्षण् retains its original form before this affix यत्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168) Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति = शिरस्यति, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vart:—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षण्याः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

अचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

62. There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिशीर्षः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥ Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिशीर्षः by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty:—व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशीर्षः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस् is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हास्ति-शीर्षः + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षण् + य (VI. 1. 61) = हास्तिशीर्षण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्षः + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्ष् + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthânavat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthânavat to इञ् affix.

This sūtra is not of Pāṇini, but is really a Vārtika raised to the rank of a sūtra by later authors.

पद्मोमास् इति शसन् यूपन्दोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हत्, निश्, अत्, यूपन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्, आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाद् इन्त नासिका मास हृदय निशा असृज यूप दोष यकृत् शकृत् उदक आसन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थानं शस्प्रभृतिप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हत् निश् असन् यूपन् दोषन् यकन् शकन् उदन् आसन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पदादिषु मांस्पृत्सूनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यत्तत्संक्षुद्रेषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयोर्नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—पद् for पाद, दन् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मांस, हृद् for हृदय, निश् for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूषन् for यूष, दोषन् for दांस, यक्न् for यकृत्, शक्न् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives भासन् as the substitute for आसन्, the Sidhānta Kāumudī gives the original as आस्य which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sūtra from VI. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निषद्विषतुरो जहि, पशवर्तय गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दन्—या इती धावति तस्यै श्वावदन् ॥ 3 नस्—सूकरस्त्वखनत्रसा ॥ 4 मास्—मासित्वा पश्यामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्—हृदा पृतेन मनसा आतवेदसम् । 6 निश्—अमावास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7 असन्—असित्को स्नावरोहति ॥ 8 यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूष्ण आसेचनानि ॥ 9 दोषन्—यत्ते दोष्णो दौर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10 यक्न्—यक्नो दद्याति ॥ 11 शक्न्—शक्नो दद्याति ॥ 12 उदन्—उद्वो दिव्यस्य नावा ते ॥ 13 आसन्—आसनि किं लभे मधुनि ।

Why do we say when the weak terminations शस् &c follow? Observe पादौ ते प्रतिपीड्यौ नासकं ते कृशं ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्गगमुद्धर्तितस्य च ।

व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयमिवोरगाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, शला शेषणी, ककुदोषणी याचते महादेवः ॥

Vart :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पत् for पतना, and स्नु for सानुः as यत्रीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृत्सु मर्त्यम् for पृतनासुमर्त्यम्, न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिस्तुषु for अधिस्तानुषु ॥

Vart :—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्. and the word क्षुद्र follow : as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vart :—The substitution of नस् for नासिका before the affix यत् does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as: नासिक्यो वर्णः 'a nasal letter' नासिक्यं नगरम् ॥

धात्वादेः षः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः, षः, सः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मुग्धातुष्ठिबुध्वष्कृतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the ष being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ष, change it for स ॥ Thus षद्—सहेत, षिच्—सिचति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्षति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this ष is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of सिसव we have सिसव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhâtupâṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्मि, स्वद्, स्विद्, स्वज् and स्वप्, though followed by म् or न् ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सृप्, सृज्, स्त, स्त्या, सेक्र, and स् ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of छिच् and वृक्क ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so छिच्—छिवात्, वृक्क—वृक्कते ॥ The word छिच् contains in it two roots छिच् and स्थिच्, one with ड, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीव्यते, देष्ठीव्यते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has थ ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेरित्यनुवर्तते । धातोरादेर्णकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ण् of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha.

The phrase धात्वादेः is understood here. Thus णीञ्—नयति, णम—नमति, णह—नहति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारमिच्छति = णकारीयात् ॥ The roots are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with ण for a similar reason as they are exhibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—नृ, नन्दि नर्दि, नक्क, नादि, नाध् and नाय् ॥

लोपोऽर्थोऽत्र लि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादि प्रकृतं यत् तदधात्वादेरिति पुनर्धातुप्रद्वयान्निवृत्तम् । तेन धातोर्धातोश्च वकार्यकारयोर्वलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

The final व् or वः of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a बल् consonant i. e. any consonant except व् ॥ Thus दिव्+वस् (III. 2. 107)=दिव्+दिव्+वस्=दिविवस् nom. singular दिविवान्, दिविवांसौ, दिविवांसः ॥ Thus ऊय्+त=ऊतं, 'spun', कृय्+त=कृतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix इक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix इक्, इ is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा+एय्+र=गौधेरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव्—जीरवानुः (by Unâdi affix जीवे रवानुक्) from सिव्—अस्तेमाणम् formed by the Unâdi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unâdi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊइ substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except व्?" Observe ऊय्यते, कृय्यते when व् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय्+क्विप्=कण्डू य् (VI. 4. 48)=कण्डू+व्=कण्डुः ॥ So लोलूय्+क्विप्=लोलुः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a बल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasârana. and वव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasârana, and the elision of र् by हलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते । वेरिति क्विवादयो विशेषाननुबन्धानुत्सृज्यसामान्येन गृह्यन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

67. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, ण्वि &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprīkta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भ्रूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पादभाक्, तुरीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix ण्वि is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprīkta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe हविः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जानृविः formed क्विन्, see Unâdi Sūtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by

I. I. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्चि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्वपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, ङ्याप्भ्यः, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधनं द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । हलन्तान् ङ्यन्ताश्च दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिर्न सिद्धयति । रात्तु तेनैव लोपः स्यादलस्तस्माद्विधीयते ॥

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स् and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्तं हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of सु after a consonant :—राजन् + स् = राजान् (VI. 4. 8) + 0 = राजा, तक्षा, उखासन्, पर्णध्वन् ॥ After a डी :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्ङ्गरवी ॥ After आप् :—खट्वा, बहुराजा, कारी वगन्ध्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अविभर्भवान् (भृ + लङ् + तिप् = अ + भृ + भ्लु + त् = अ + भृ + भृ + त् (VI. 1. 10) = अ + भर् + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 66 and I. 1. 51) = अ + भ + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 60) = अ + ब + भृ + त् (VIII. 4. 54) = अ + बि + भृ + त् (VII. 4. 76) = अ + बि + भर् + त् (VII. 3. 84) = अविभर् + त् = अविभर् ॥ So also अजागर्भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोऽत्र, अच्छिनोऽत्र ॥ (भिद् + लङ् + सिप् ॥ The इ is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by सु, ति and सि”? Observe अभैस्तीन् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति ॥ Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe बिभेद्, चिच्छेद् ॥ Here the अपृक्ता affix अ of the Perfect is not elided : though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI. 4. 8)=राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्, and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Books), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखासन् and यर्णधन् ॥ उखा+सन्स्+क्विप् III. 2. 76=उखा+सन्स् (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखासन्स्+स्=उखासन्स्; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखासन्, here we cannot change the स् into द् by VIII. 2. 72 for स् is not *final* in a *pada*, for Rule VIII. 2. 23 is considered as not to have taken effect. So also in the case of अभिनोऽत्र ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhâdi class. Thus भिद्+लङ्+सिप्=अ+भिद्+इनम्+स्=अ+भिनद्+स्=अभिनर्+स् (द् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75)=अभिनर्स् ॥ If we elide the final स् of the conjunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिनर्+अत्र, the र् would not be changed into उ to form अभिनोऽत्र by VI. 1. 113 since the elision of स् is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अबिभर् भवान्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संयोगान्तलोप rule is restricted by रात्सस्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of त् in अबिर्भन् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्हस्वात्सुबुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तमिति न धिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसूत्रे पुनरपृक्तग्रहणं कृतम् । एङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताच्च परो हल्लुप्यते सचेत्संबुद्धेर्भवति ॥

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The word लोप is understood here also; as well as हल् ॥ The word अपृक्त however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sūtra) indicates. The affix of Vocative is the same as that of the nominative. By VII. 3. 108, the short vowel of the stem is replaced by a guṇa vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have अग्ने and वायो for अग्नि and वायु; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ई and ऊ of the feminine: as नदि and वधु for नदी and वधू ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix स् is elided after

all the above words. As हे अग्ने !, हे वायो !, हे देवदत्त !, हे नदि !, हे बधु ! The Vocative Singular of कुण्ड a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. 1. 24, अम् replaces स् of the nominative, the अ of अम् and the final अ of कुण्ड coalesce into one अ by VI. 1. 107, which becomes कुण्डम् ॥ Here by the rule that 'consonant' only is to be elided, we elide म् only (and not अ which becomes a part of the word by VI. 1. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now म् is not an अपृक्तं हल् for it is part of the affix अम्, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of अपृक्ता into this sūtra. Thus we have हे कुण्ड ! ॥ But in हे कतरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु for the affix there is अद् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being डित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर + अत्, here we have not a prâtipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे अग्नि + सु, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided.

शेऽछन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

70. In the Chhandas, the elision of the case-ending इ (शि) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional.

Thus या क्षेत्रा or यानि क्षेत्राणि, अ वनः or यानि वनानि ॥

ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परतां ह्रस्वस्य तुमागमो भवति ॥

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment त् (तुक्) when a Kṛit-affix having an indicatory इ follows.

Thus अग्नि + चि + क्विप् = आग्निचित्, so also सोमसुत् ॥ Similarly प्रहृत्य and उपस्तृत्य formed by the affix ल्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आलूय, ग्रामणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory इ"? Observe कृतम्, हृतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पदुतरः, पदुतनः, with the Taddhita-affixes त्रप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound ग्रामणिकुलम्, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुक्, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a Bahiranga rule, and the present rule is an Antaranga one. The maxim is असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "That which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect".

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयमनुदात्तं परमेकवर्जमिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तर यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं सहेदितव्यम् ॥

72. In the following sūtras upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech', should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus इध्वन्, मध्वन् the इ and उ are changed to य and व when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have इधि अन्, मधु अन् ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वस्य तुगिति वर्त्तते । छकारे परतः संहितायां विषये ह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

73. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to च by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the आगमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छित्तुः, चिच्छिदुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate चि, but of the short इ only ; and therefore it is not elided by ह्लादिः शेष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवावयवः समुदायावयवो भवति "the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole". Here त् is a part of the abhyāsa syllable चि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चि of which इ is the part.

आङ्माङोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, माङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते, छहति च । आङो ङित ईषदादिषु चतुर्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङश्च प्रतिषेधवचनस्य छकारे परतस्तुगागमो भवति ॥

74. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषदर्थः) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (क्रियायोगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्यादा). This sūtra ordains तुक् necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईषच्छाया = आच्छाया; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छादयति, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छत्सीत्, माच्छित् ॥ The इ in आङ्

and माङ् shows that आ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachanīya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त् is not necessary in the following :—आछाया मानयाते, प्रमाछन्दः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छन्दः॥ The आ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आछाया “Oh the shade”. The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माङ् by the prefix प्र and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix टाप्, and the word ending in टाप् has not the indicatory इ ॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ छे तुगिति वर्त्तते । दीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

75. The augment त् is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

Thus ह्रीच्छति, म्लेच्छति, अपचाच्छायते, विचाच्छायते ॥ The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तात्, वा, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ दीर्घाच्छेत्तुगिति वर्त्तते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्तो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विश्वजनादीनां छन्दसि वा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

76. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कूदीच्छाया or कुदीछाया, कूवलीच्छाया or कुवलीछाया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a padānta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थ पदविधि) not applying. Thus तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and छत्रं are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vārt :—The augment त् is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विश्वजन &c. As, विश्वजनच्छत्रम् or विश्वजनछत्रम्, नच्छायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

इको यणचि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण्, अचि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for

the application of this rule. Thus दधि + अत्र = दध्यत्र, मधु + अत्र = मध्यत्र, कर्तृ + अर्थम् = कर्त्रर्थम्, हर्तृ + अर्थम् = हर्त्रर्थम्, ल आकृति = लाकृतिः ॥

Vart:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्ना ३ इ इन्द्रं = अग्ना ३ यिन्द्रम्, पटा ३ उ उदकम् = पटा ३ वुदकम्, अग्ना ३ इ भाशा = अग्ना ३ याशा, पटा ३ उ भाशा = पटा ३ वाशा ॥ भो ३ इ इन्द्रम् = भो ३ विन्द्रम् ॥ The phrase 'when a vowel follows' exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

एचो ऽयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अय् - अव् - आय्-आवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने ऽचि परतो ऽय् अव् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

78. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Thus चि + ल्युट् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं; चै + अक = चायकः, लौ + अक = लायकः ॥ So also कयेते, व्ययेते, याववरुणाद्भि, रु + युच् (III. 2. 148) = रो + अन = रवणः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमचः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओकारस्य अव् औकारस्याव् स यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोर्युतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च ॥

79. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz. अव् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in व् (viz. अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ ॥ Thus बभ्रु + यञ् = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शक्रव्यंशरु, पिचव्यः कार्पासः, नाव्यो (IV. 4. 91) हृदः ॥ Why do we say "अव् and आव्"? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयाती, no change of ऐ before य ॥ Why do we say "before य"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्यूति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गव्यूति meaning कोशयुगम् ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एच इति वृत्तंते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्य एच् तन्निमित्तो यकारादिप्रत्ययनिमित्तस्तस्य यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

80. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एवः, वान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word सन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus लृ forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: Thus लृ + य = लो + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लृ + ण्यत् (III. 1. 125) = लौ + य = अवश्य लव्यम् and अवश्य पव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of बभ्रु + य = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो + य = गव्य, नौ + य = नाव्य, where आ and औ are not *caused* by the affix, but are integral parts of the stem before the affixes were added. Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते = Here by Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15), वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ (VI. 1. 87), we have ओ + यते = ओयते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also ओयत, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and आ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ and औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

क्षय्यज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - ज्यौ, शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्यति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायदेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and ज्य there is substitution of अय् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षतुं = क्षय्यः (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also ज्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, अयो वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणातेर्द्धातोस्तदर्थे क्रयार्थं यत्तस्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयदेशो निपात्यते ॥

82. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that'.

i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भय्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवय्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य याति प्रत्यये परतच्छन्दसि विषये ऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ह्रदय्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवय्या are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी + यत्, and प्रवय्या from प्र + वी + यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भय्यं किलासीत् ॥ वत्सतरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यलुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus बिभेति अस्माद् = भय्यम् "frightening or fearable". The word प्रवय्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवेय is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेयम्, प्रवेयस् in secular literature.

Vārt:—The word ह्रदय्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As ह्रदे भवा = ह्रदय्या आपः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (ह्रदे + य = ह्रदय् + य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आधिकारोऽयम् । ख्यत्यात्परस्येति प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वदितव्यम् ॥

84. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. In every sūtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādesa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches 'There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel'. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एकः पूर्वपरयोः i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खदा + इन्द्रः = खदेन्द्रः ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter आ and the succeeding letter इ ॥ The words पूर्व पर show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of *one* only or of each one separately. Thus in आद् गुणः (अचि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आत् is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the guṇa operation would have taken place on the letter *following* it: so also अचि is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the

guṇa operation would have taken place on the *preceding*; so it is not clear of what letter there should be guṇa substitution, of the preceding or the succeeding. But the present rule shows it must operate on both simultaneously. The word एक 'single', shows that a separate or a different substitute does not operate: i. e. the substitute must be one, there should not be two separate substitutes one for each sthâṇī, such as we find in the sūtra VIII. 2. 42 (रसाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च दः, "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhâ, after र् and द, and of the preceding द"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and द्, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get *two* न, as भिद् + त = भिन् + न = भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhâshya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवच्च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त - आदि - वत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्तते पूर्वपरयोरिति च । एकः पूर्वपरयोरिति योयमेकादेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवति, परस्यादिवद्भवति ॥

85. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in the last, is considered in the light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An âdeśa is like the sthâṇī, but in an ekâdeśa, the sthâṇī is indeterminate, or rather the sthâṇī is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra. The sense of this atideśa sūtra is this: as the beginning and the end of a thing are both *included* in the thing itself, and therefore when the thing is mentioned, the beginning and the end are both taken; so is the case with this single substitute. Thus to the stem ब्रह्मबन्धु we add ऊ the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now द + ऊ = ऊ (VI. 1. 101) i. e. ब्रह्मबन्धु + ऊ = ब्रह्मबन्धू ॥ Here ब्रह्मबन्धु is a Nominal-stem (प्रातिपदिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prâtipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prâtipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धू the term prâtipadika and by virtue of this designation we can add the case-endings to it by IV. 1. 1. But for this rule, we could not have added the case-endings to it, because by virtue of the feminine affix ऊ the word would have rather ceased to be a prâtipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending अ of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. 1. 88, this ekâdeśa औ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix औ, and the final of वृक्ष and thus the word वृक्षौ gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it *ends* in the सुप् affix औ ॥

This अन्तादिवद्भाव does not apply in rules relating to letters i. e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खद् + भा = खद्भा ॥ Here the

ekâdeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the भिस् is changed to ऐस् after a nominal-stem ending in अ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्वा will not end in ऐः, but will be खद्वाभिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of ह्वे or ह्वा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the व् is changed to उ, and we have जुह्वआ = जुह्वआ which by VI. 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of उ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix णल् (अ) is changed in ओ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै + अश्वः = अस्या अश्वः (the य् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इदम् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 114 स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ ; as अ + स्या + ए = अस्यै ॥ Here ऐ is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ऐ should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthânî of the single-substitute (ekâdeśa) is the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding, both taken collectively is replaced by *one*, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthânî: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthânî, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthânî only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthânî, the rule of sthânîvad bhâva will not apply to an ekâdeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekâdeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sūtra.

षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकादेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीत्यर्थः ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणङीदसु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single âdeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स would have to be changed to ष, or when the augment त् (तुक्) is to be added.

The word असिद्ध means not-accomplished i. e. the operation caused by its having taken effect is not produced. The word asiddha always debars operations dependent upon the âdeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवचनमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus कोऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = कर् + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = कउ + असिचत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिचत् (अ-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिचत् (ओ-अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sūtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after ओ required to be changed into ष, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कौऽस्य, योऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, योऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अधीत्य there is the addition of त् by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a *long* vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekâdeśa of ई for इ-1-इ, and this ekâdeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक् augment. Similarly in प्र-1-इ-1-तुक्-1-य=प्रैत्य. Here also अ-1-इ=ए is considered asiddha.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasāraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending डि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इद् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकहूषु=शकान् हयाति, then we add क्तिप्, before which there is vocalisation of व्, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekâdeśa: as शकहा-1-क्तिप्=शकहउआ-1-0 (VI. 1. 15)+शकहु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकहु-1-सु=शकहूषु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to ष the ekâdeśa उ for उ-1-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिवीषु (परि+व्ये+क्तिप्=परि+वइए+क्तिप्=परिवि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix डि we have:—वृक्ष-1-इ=वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेछत्रम् ॥ Of the affix इद् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचे-1-छत्रम्=अपचेच्छत्रम् or अपचे-छत्रम् ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals दीर्घ or long. Here the ekâdeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optinal* and not compulsory.

आद्गुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचीत्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाचोः स्थाने एको गुण आदेशो भवति ॥

87. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ-1-a vowel = guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + इदम् = तवेदम्, खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः, माला + इन्द्रः = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खट्वा + ईहते = खट्वेहते, तव + उदकम् = तवादकम्, खट्वा + उदकम् = खट्वोदकम्, तव + ऋभ्यः = तवर्भ्यः, खट्वा + ऋभ्यः = खट्वर्भ्यः, तव + लकारः = तवल्लकारः, खट्वा + लकारः = खट्वल्लकारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of त् being अ is always followed by ल्, as that of क् is followed by र् ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्तते । अवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णैचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding ind (अ or आ-1-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi. This debarbs guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एङका = ब्रह्मैङका, खट्वा + एङका = खट्वैङका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खट्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खट्वैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खट्वा + ओदनः = खट्वौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मौपगवः, खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्यूठसु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आरिति च । तदेतदेज्यग्रहणमेतेरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरव्यभिचारादूठश्चासंभवात् । इण् गतावित्येतस्मिन्धातावेचि एध वृद्धावित्येतस्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यदवर्णं ततश्च परो योच् तयोः पूर्वप-रयोरवर्णचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अक्षादूहिण्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वादीरोरिण्योर्वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रादूहोढोढधेय्येषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ कृते च तृतीयासमासे ऽवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानामृणे वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋणदशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-1-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-1-ऊ of ऊठ् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊठ् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एधि = उपैधि, उपैमि; उप-1-एधते = उपैधते, प्रैधते; प्रध-1-ऊहा = प्रधौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नीत्तरान् "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :—उप + आ-1-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-1-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

वदतः—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सना ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्वर is followed by ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वरम्, स्वरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगतौ (Ad. 8) स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is स्वेरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणेन ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78).

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊह, ऊहि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौहः, प्रौहिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the root इष् 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्; and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यत् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in भ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound: as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन क्तः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word कृण follows the following:—प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्णम् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्णम् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vart:—So also when the words कृण and दृश are followed by कृणः—as, कृणार्णम् and दृशार्णम् ॥ The word कृणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasârṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो य आट तयोः पूर्वपरयोरा-
डचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ।

90. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of एचि ceases: that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत्, औद्भीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षदर्शने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ बज्ज आर्जवे (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudī the आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadī*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples:—बहुश्रेयसी-1-आट्-1-ङे = बहुश्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट् ॥

The च् 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उस्, ओ and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आइ ॥ Thus औनीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ-।-ऊढा = ओढा, तमिच्छत् = ओढायत् ॥

उपसर्गादिति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

91. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उप + ऋच्छति = उपार्च्छति, प्रार्च्छति, उपार्धोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खद्वृच्छति, मालच्छति, प्रच्छकोदेशः = प्रगता ऋच्छका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ऋ follows'? Observe उप-। इत = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after ऋ indicating that short ऋ is to be taken? Observe उप + ऋकारी यति = उपर्कारीयात् ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long ऋ ॥ Why have we employed the word धातु, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धातु? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129 which causes प्रकृतभावः or non-sandhi of ऋ ॥ The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakṛiti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the ऋ of a Dhātu.

वा सुप्यापिशलेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, सुपि, आपिशलेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । उपसर्गादिति धाताविति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृकारादौ परतो ऽवर्णान्तादुपसर्गात्पूर्वपरयोरापिशलेराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Āpiśali, the Vṛiddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus उपार्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपल्कारीयति or उपाल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and लृ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra includes लृ also. The name of the Grammarian Āpiśali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो ऽमशसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शसोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औतो ऽमि शसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोराकार आदेशो भवति ॥

93. For ओ of a Nominal stem-**अ** of the Accusative case-ending **अम्** and **अस्**, the single substitute is **आ** ॥

The word **ओतः** is a compound of **आ** + **ओतः** ॥ Thus **गो - अम्**, = **गोम्**, **गो-अस्** = **गाः** ॥ Thus **गां पश्य**, **गाः पश्यः** ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also **द्यां** or **द्याः पश्य**; as the word **द्यो** is also a nominal stem ending in **ओ** ॥ The Sārva-nāmsthâna affixes are **णिन्** after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this **आ** debars the Vṛiddhi. The word **अम्** here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix **श्चस्**, and as the word **सुप्** of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore **अम्** the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have **अचिनवम्**, **असुनवम्** ॥

एङि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव, उपसर्गाद्भाताविति च । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेडादौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ शकन्वादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियोगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमन्नादिषु छन्दासि पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

94. For the **अ** or **आ** of the Preposition-**अ** or **ओ** of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words **आत्**, **उपसर्गाद्भातौ** are understood here. In an upasarga ending in **अ** or **आ** followed by a root beginning with **ए** or **ओ**, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (**पररूप**) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88. Thus **उपलयाति**, **प्रेलयाति**, **उपोषति**, **प्रोषति** ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, according to them the para-rûpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus **उपेडकीयति** or **उपैडकीयति**, **उपोदनीयति** or **उपौदनीयति** ॥

Vart:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः &c. As शक-**अ**-न्धुः = शकन्धुः, कुल + **अ**टा = कुलटा, सीम + **अ**न्तः = सीमान्तः 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is सीमान्तः ॥

Vart:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus इह-**अ**-एव = इहेव; अद्य-**अ**-एव = अद्येव ॥ When the sense is that of नियोग, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as इहेव भव, माऽन्यत्र गाः ॥

Vart:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलौतुः or स्थूलोतुः, so also बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as तिष्ठ देवदत्तोष्ठं पश्य 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the para-rûpa substitution takes place when एमन् &c. follow. Thus अपां त्वा एमन् = अपां त्वेमन् ॥ So also अपां त्वा ओमन् = अपां त्वोमन् ॥

ओमाङोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादोमि आङि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus का-1-ओम् = कोम् ; या-1-ओम् = योम् ; as कोमित्यवोचत्, योमित्यवोचत् ; आ-1-ऊढा = आंढा, then अद्य-1-आंढा = अद्योढा, कदा 1-आंढा = कदोढा, तदा + आंढा = तदोढा ॥ आ + ऋश्यात् = अश्यात्, then अद्य-1-अश्यात् = अद्यश्यात् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णादपदान्तादसि पूर्वपरयोराहुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उस् the Tense-affix, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. This debarb the guṇa substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus भिन्द्या-1-उस् = भिन्दुः, छिन्द्या-1-उस् = छिन्दुः ॥ अदा-1-उस् = अदुः, (लुङ् of दा) अया-1-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्द् + यासुद् + शि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्द् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced शि III. 4. 108) = भिन्दुस् ॥ अदा + सिच् + शि = अदा + ० (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अदा + उस् = अदुः ॥ अ + या + शि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of शि in लिट् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चकृ-1-उस् = चक्रुः ॥ So also from भी we have अबिभे-1-उस् = अबिभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उस् = कोस्, का + उषिता = कोषिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तादिति वक्तव्ये । अकारादपदान्ताहुणे परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

97. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

Thus पच्-1-शप्-1-अन्ति = पच-1-अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debarb lengthening of VI. 1. 101. पच् + ए = पचे, यज + ए = यजे, here the Vṛiddhi is debarred (VI. 1. 88). Why do we say "after the short vowel अ?" Observe या-1-अन्ति = यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why do we say when followed by 'a Guṇa letter?' Observe

अपच-1-इ = अपचे, अयजे ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as
 ण्ड-1-अग्र = ण्डाग्रम्, यूपाग्रम्, क्षुद्राग्रम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्फुटवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्फुटवर्णमेव केन चित्सादृश्येन तद्व्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-
 च्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-1-इत् ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पटत्-1-इति = पटिति, घटत् + इति = घटिति, झटत् + इति = झटिति, छमत् + इति = छमिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगत्-1-इति = जगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद् + इति = मरडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पटत् + अत्र = पटदत्र ॥

Vart:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—सत् + इति = सदिति ॥ How do you explain the form घटदिति in the following:—घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुदैर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटत्-1-इति but घटद्-1-इति ॥

नाम्नेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्नेडितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, तु, वा ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्नेडितस्य यो ऽच्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-1-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पटत्पटदिति or पटत्पदेति करोति (पटत्पटत् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पदेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. 1. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटत्पदिति करोति ॥ Here we apply the precedeing sûtra. The âmreḍita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. 1. 2).

नित्यमाम्नेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्नेडिते, डाचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातो ऽन्त्यस्येति चानुवर्तते । डाच्यं यदाप्नेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्या-
 च्छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चाद्यस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial

consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पटपटा कणात् (V. 4. 57), दमदमा करोति ॥ पटत्पटत्-1-डाच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त् + प् = प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. 1. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अत् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे ऽचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णदीर्घत्वे ऋति ऋवा वचनम् ॥ वा० ॥ लृति लृवा वचनम् ॥

101. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus वण्ड + अग्रम् = वण्डाग्रम्, दधि + इन्द्रः = दधीन्द्रः, मधु + उदके = मधुदके and होतृ + ऋभ्य होतृभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने-1-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe दधि-1-अन्न = दध्यन्न ॥ The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुस्त्विवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाज् झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाज् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्यं (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नाज् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the *long* ई and श would be savarna.

Vārt:—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional: so also with लृ ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c). Thus होतृऋकारः = होत्कारः or होतृकारः, so also होतृ-1-लृकारः = होत्लृकारः or होत्लृकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of लृ is ऋ ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्व - सवर्णः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तत्साहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । तस्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

102. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and दायः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-1-औ = अग्नी ; वायु-1-औ = वायु ; वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षाः, so also वृक्षाः, वृक्षान्, वृक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-1-अस् &c) the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-1-अस् = वृक्षः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them : " but not this पूर्वस्वर्ग lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अत्रि 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-1-स् = वृक्षः, वृक्षाः ॥ The word अक 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नौ-1-औ = नौ ॥ Why do we say 'a vowel homogenous to the antecedent?' The substitute will not be one homogenous to the second or the subsequent vowel. The दीर्घ or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel,

तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, शसः, नः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वस्वर्गदीर्घादुत्तरस्य शसो ऽद्यवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारदेशो भवात् ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-1-शस् = वृक्ष-1-अन् = वृक्षान् ॥ So also अग्नीन्, वायून्, कर्तृन्, होतृन्, पण्डितान्, धूरान्, भरतान्, पश्य &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कन् meaning a figure like a चञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्ति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चञ्चा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चञ्चाः पश्य, वधिकाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'after such a long vowel homogenous with the first?' The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for औ-1-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here स् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe वृक्षाः, वृक्षाः endings in अस् Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनुः, बह्वीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिचि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णादिष्वि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

104. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Thus वृक्षौ, प्लक्षौ, खट्वे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. 1. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच् (a vowel other than अ)?" Observe वृक्षाः here VI. 1. 102 applies.

दीर्घाज्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परतः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

105. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

Thus कुमार्यौ, कुमार्य, ब्रह्मबन्धौ, ब्रह्मबन्धः ॥

वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इचि च परतो वा पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

106. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels in these cases last mentioned.

Thus माहूतीः or माहूत्यः, पिण्डीः or पिण्ड्यः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो ऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं पूर्वं एकादेशो भवति ॥

107. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष-1-अम् = वृक्षम् (VII. 1. 24) प्लक्षम्, अग्नि-1-अम् = अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्व 'antecedent, first' in the sūtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी + अम् = कुमारीम् the ई would have been of three mât-râs or measures, as it comes in the room of ई + अ, the aggregate mât-râs of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शर्मो or शर्म्यं, गौरी or गौर्यम् ॥ अम् is the

ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. I. 23, 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणादचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

108. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semivowel and the subsequent vowel.

The word पूर्वः is understood here. When a vocalised semi-vowel is followed by a vowel, the vocalised vowel is alone substituted, the subsequent vowel merging in it. Thus यज्-१-क्त = इअज्-१-क्त (VI. I. 15) = इष्टम् (इ-१-अ = इ); so उप्तम् (वप्-१-क्त = उ अय्-१-त), यद् + इत = गृ अह्-१-इत = गृहीतं ॥ Had there not been this merging, the vocalisation would become either useless or the two vowels would have been heard separately without sandhi. Thus in वप् + त = उअप् + त, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to व् by इकोयणचि and the word would again assume the form वप् ॥ But this यणादेश would caues samprasârâṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ अप् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. I. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानौ मित्रावरुणौ or इज्यमानौ ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेश when there is no purvavad-bhâva we do you form यज्यमान् ; it ought to be इ अज्यमान् " ? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsequent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vad-bhâva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इष्टः &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यणादेश will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasârâṇa. Thus शकान् ह्यात = शकह् + क्विप् = शकह् उ आ = शकहू ॥ Here आ which is in the same अङ्ग with हु merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शकहू + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the samprasârâṇa ऊ does not merge therein, and we have शकहौ ॥ Similarly शकहू + अर्थ = शकहर्थम् ॥ In fact when *once* the para-purvâtva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ए into इष्ट, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasârâṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

एङ्ः पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्ः, पदान्तात्, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वरूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

109. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus अग्ने-1-अत्र = अग्नेऽत्र, वायो-1-अत्र = वायोऽत्र ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अद् and अव् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe द्यत्र, मध्यत्र ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-1-अन = चयाम्, लो-1-अन = लवनम् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ"? Observe वायो-1-इति = वायविति, भानो-1-इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो आयाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

डसिङ्सोश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ डसिङ्सोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ इति वर्त्तते, अतीतिच । एङ उत्तरयोर्डसिङ्सोरिति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकारेशो भवति ॥

110. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word),-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने-1-अस् = अग्नेः, वायोः ॥ The इ and उ of अग्नि and वायु are gunated by VII. 3. 111. This sūtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padānta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरगच्छति, अग्नेः स्वम्, वायोः स्वम् ॥

ऋत उत् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्सोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्डसिङ्सोरिति पूर्वपरयोरुकार एकारेशो भवति ॥

111. In the room of ऋ-1-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Thus होत्-1-अस् = होतुर् (The उ must always be followed by र् I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

ख्यत्यात्परस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख्य - त्यात्-, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्सोरिति वर्त्तते उदिति च । ख्यत्यादिति खिशब्दखीशब्दयोस्तिशब्दतीशब्दयोश्चकृतयणादेशयोरिवग्रहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य डसि ङ्सोरत उकारोदेशो भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of

अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङसां: and उत् are understood here also. The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and ख् denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि-1-अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सख्येन वर्तते = सखः, सखमिच्छति = सख-1-क्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्तिप् to the denominative root सखीय we get सखीः 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी-1-अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्तिप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the न् of लूनो being the substitute of त् of Nishthâ, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and ख् in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is घि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखीः 'one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय-1-क्तिप्), and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय-1-क्तिप्): Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, रोः, अप्लुतात्, अप्लुते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उदिति वर्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोरिफस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word आत् of VI. 1. 109, 111. Thus वृक्ष-1-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर्-1-अत्र = वृक्षउ-1-अत्र = वृक्षो-1-अत्र (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽत्र (VI. 1. 109); so also प्लक्षोऽत्र ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य्; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon रु VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निर्-1-अत्र = अग्निरत्र ॥ Why do we say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-1-अत्र = वृक्षा अत्र ॥ Why do we use रु with its indicative उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वर-1-अत्र = स्वरत्र, प्रातर-1-अत्र प्रातरत्र ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word अति is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The र must be *followed* by a short अ, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्-इह = वृक्ष इह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्-आश्रितः = वृक्ष आश्रितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुस्रोता इ अत्र त्वमासि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पय आग्निस्त (VIII. 2. 86). Here प्लुत being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अन्तुत been used in the aphorism.

हशि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हशि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हशि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोहकारादेशो भवति ॥

114. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र substitute of रु VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyâhâra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus पुरुषो वाति or वसति or ददाति &c.

प्रकृत्या अन्तःपादमव्यपरे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पादम्, अव्यपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङो ऽतीत्येव । एङ इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्थार्थिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा ऽभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाचष्टे । पादशब्देन च ऋक्पादस्यैव ग्रहणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अवकारयकारपरे ऽति परत एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

115. The final ए or ओ and the following अ when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vedic verse, retain their original forms, except when the अ is followed by ष or य् ॥

The word एङः is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means 'original nature, cause'. The word अन्तर is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus ते अग्रे अश्वमायुज्जन्; ते अस्मिन् अवमादधुः, उपययन्तां अध्वरम्; शिरो अपश्यम्; सुजाते अश्वसूनुते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अध्वर्यो अग्निभिः सुतम् (Rig IX. 51. 1); शुक्रं ते अन्यत् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe कया मती कुत एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति ॥ Why do we say "when ष or य् does not follow अ?" Observe तेऽवदन् (Rig X. 109. 1), तेऽयस्मयम् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्वग्निरुषसामग्रमख्यत् ॥ Some read this sūtra as नान्तः पादमव्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sūtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. 1. 72).

अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवद्यात् अवक्रमुः अव्रत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्यति परतोऽन्तः पादमेङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

116. The ए or ओ retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the अ in these has a व् and य् following it) :— अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवद्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा सिंवासो अवक्रमुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अव्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda :—सीक्षन्तो अव्रतम् (VI. 14. 3), संदहन्तो अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधरो अयं मणिः, ते नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु is generally elided in the Veda after ए or ओ) कुशिकासो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एदन्तो यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरो, retains its original form when followed by a short अ which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtrā as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उरु ending in रु, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्जुर ॥ But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षत् सज्जुः ॥ In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पादं does not apply here.

आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके पूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः, वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येता च यावम्बिकेशब्दास्पूर्वो यजुषि पठितौ त आति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपो, जुषानो, वृष्णो, वर्षिष्ठे, and also in and after अम्बे or अम्बाले when they stand before अम्बिके ॥

Thus आपो अस्मान् प्रातरः शुन्धयन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj. V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठेऽधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittiriya Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि ॥ (I. 1. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is अम्बे अम्बिकेऽम्बालिके) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

अङ्गइत्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तस्यै चाकारे यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अङ्गे is followed by अङ्गे, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ ॥

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अवाध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निर्दिध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निरीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अशोचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-धपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्ते चाति कवर्गधकारपरे परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudâtta अ is followed by a Guttural or a ध, the antecedent ए or ओ retains its form, as well as this subsequent अ ॥

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अध्वर्यः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधोऽग्ने, here अग्ने has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमग्निः सहस्रियः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्तइति चशब्देनानुकृष्यते । अवपथाःशब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽकारासौ परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

121. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented अ of अवपथास् follows ए or ओ, the vowels retain their original form.

Thus व्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप् in the Atmanepada. Thus अ-व-प्-अ-शप्-अ-थास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यदुद्रेभ्यो ऽवपथाः ॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, विभाषा, गोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र, छन्दसि विभाषायां चाति परतो गारेङ् प्रकृत्या भवति विभाषा ॥

122. After गो the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽयं or गो अयं ॥ In the Vedas also अपशवो वा अन्ये गो अश्वेभ्यः, पशवो गोऽश्वाः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अशीत्येतत्स्वनुवर्त्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावङ्ग-
देशो भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭâyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्च manifests itself. Thus गो + अग्र = गवाग्रम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवाष्टम्, or in the alternative we have गो-डग्रम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवुष्टम् ॥ The substitute अवङ् is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrīhi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अग्रमस्य = गैवाग्रः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samâsânta Udâtta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭâyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्थे ऽचि परतो गेर्नित्यमवङोदेशो भवति ॥

124. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्द्र follows it,

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥ So also गवन्द्र यज्ञः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahâbhâshya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश्च प्रगृह्याश्चाचि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

125. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc.) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc.) vowels remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus देवदत्ता ३ अत्र न्वसि, यज्ञदत्ता ३ इदम् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripâdi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyâyi ; and the tripâdi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sūtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples : अग्नी इति, वायु इति, खट्वे इति, माले इति ॥ Though the anuvritti of अचि was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77 : its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining प्रकृतिभाव ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrihya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जानु उ अस्य, रुजाति here in combining जानु + उ into जानू, the अ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that जानू which ends in उ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जानू + अस्य = जानू अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्वस्य, not by इकोष्णाचि, but by मय उञो वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of आच in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this *peculiar* meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply प्लुतप्रगत्याः, it would have been translated ordinarely thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु इ अस्य, since इ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the इ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word अचि, and the peculiar explanation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihya vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जानु उ अस्य हजति. the इ + उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the *cause* of lengthening; it causes the change of इ to इ, which of course is prevented. The word नित्य of the last sūtra is understood here also. These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. 1. 127.

आङो ऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङो ऽचि परतःसाहितायां छन्दसि विषये ऽनुनासिकविशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

126. For the adverb आ, is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised आँ, when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अभ्र आँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुलं into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here : इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरन् = आ अतरन् ॥

इको ऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, असवर्णे, शाकल्यस्य, ह्रस्वः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इको ऽसवर्णे ऽचि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यैकः स्थाने भवति ॥

पार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिन्नित्यसमासयोः शाकल्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ईषाभक्षारिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्रं वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a nonhomogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus इधि अत्र, मधु अत्र, कुमारि अत्र, किशोरि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have इध्वत्र, मध्वत्र, कुमार्यत्र, किशोर्यत्र ॥ Why do we say 'the इक् vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe एद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart:—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa):—Thus अयं ते योनिर्कल्पियः, प्रजां विराम कल्पियाम्. The word कल्पिय is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. I. 106), added to क्तु; and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवधः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्ययम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vart:—In the Vedas ईषा अक्षः &c are found uncombined. As, ईषा अक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशंगिला, यथा अङ्गदः, पथा अगमन् &c.

ऋत्यकः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति, अकः, (प्रकृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वभेत्येतदनुवर्तते । ऋकोर परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

128. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus खद्वा ऋभ्यः, कुमारि ऋभ्यः, होतृ ऋभ्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)” ? Observe वृक्षावृक्ष्यः (वृक्षौ + ऋभ्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्लुत - वत्, उपस्थिते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्थ इतिकरणः समुदायादवच्छिद्य परं येन स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो ऽप्लुत-वद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्ये प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. I. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला इति = सुमङ्गलेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as”; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta”? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛiti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायु, the इ and ऊ are pragrihya. They may be made pluta also a अग्ना इ or वायु इ ॥ Now if before इति, the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायु इति formed by अग्नी इ + इति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in additon to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी इ इति, वायु इ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई३ कारः प्लुतो ऽचि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्भवति ॥

130. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmanā, the pluta ई३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अस्तु हीत्यब्रवीत् or अस्तु ही३ इत्यब्रवीत् ॥ चिनु हीदम् or चिनु ही३ इदम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmanā is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति, it ordains prakriti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhāva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयव्यभिचा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

Ishti:—This apluta-vad-bhāva applies to pluta vowels other than इ; as वशा इ इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङः पदान्तादतीत्यतः पदमणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति प्राति पदिकं गृह्यते न धातुः, सानुबन्धकत्वात् ॥

131. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The porti on पद of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = युक्तामः, युमान्, विमलयु दिनं, युभ्याम्, युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for इ by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षयुःयाम्, अक्षयुभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊङ् (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊङ् substitution the forms will be युभ्याम्, युभिः ॥ The ऊङ् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

एतत्तदोः सु लोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतत् - तदोः, सु लोपः, अकोः, अ - नञ् - समासे -, हलि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतत्तस्यै यावककारौ नञ्समासे न वर्तते तयोर्थः सुशब्दः कश्च तयोः सुशब्दो यस्तस्येन संबद्धस्तस्य संहितायां विषये हलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + ददाति = एष ददाति, स ददाति, एषभुङ्क्ते, स भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद् ? Observe यो ददाति, यो भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गायौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको ददाति, सका ददाति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix भक्त्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतद् and तद् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is : तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'.

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe अनेषो ददाति, असो ददाति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽन्न, सोऽन्न ॥

स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं सोर्लोपो भवति ॥

133. In the Chhandas, the case-affix of the nominative singular is diversely elided after स्य, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत स्य वाजी क्षिपार्णि तुरण्यति भीमायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष भासनि (Rig IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते मधुमाँ इन्द्र सोमः (Rig IX. 87, 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place : as यत्र स्यो निपतेत् ॥ The स्व means 'he'.

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पाद-पूरणम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याचि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति चेत्याहः पूर्यते ॥

Kārikā

सैष दाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥

सैष कर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

134. The case-affix of सस् 'he', is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेदु राजा भयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरनुरुह्यते (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इव व्याघ्रो भवेत् ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. Some explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—सैष शशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्यागी, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुट् कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र शुद्धिति कात्पूर्व इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—"before क् is added स्" ॥

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुट् is placed before the letter क्' should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches "After सम्, परि and उप when followed by the verb कृ, the sense being that of adorning". Here the above phrase should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. "the augment स् is added before the क् of कृ when it is preceded by सम्, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning". Thus सम्+स्+कृ+न्=संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुट् comes only before those roots which begin with क ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the स् remains unattached to क्, though it stands before it. Thus though कृ becomes कृ, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the guṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in क् and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिट्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इट् would come in लिट् and सिच् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कृषीष्ट and संस्कृत; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्कियते the Passive Imperfect (यकिं लिङि) of संस्कृ ॥ If so, then the anudātta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुट् would intervene between the non-तिङ्-word सं and the तिङन्त word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुट् does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If स् is not to be taken as attached to क्, how do you explain

the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संचस्कारतुः and संचस्कारः which apparently is done by applying VII. 4. 10. Though that rule strictly applies to roots beginning with a conjunct consonant, it will apply also to roots like संस्कृ which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (See VI. 1. 132). The indicator द् in सुद् is for the purpose of differentiating it from सु in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अडभ्यासव्यवायेपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अड्व्यवाये ऽभ्यासव्यवाये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

136. The augment सुद् is placed before क even when the augment अद् (VI. 4. 71) or the Reduplicate intervenes (between the preposition and the verb).

Thus समस्केरात् (=सम्+अकरोत्), समस्कार्षीत्, संचस्कार (=सम्+चकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pānini, but is made out of two Vārtikas: अड् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥ The augmented root स्कृ would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स् be considered an integral part of कृ, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sūtra? The operation relating to a Dhātu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment सुद् is added, and then the अद् and अभ्यास operations take place. Thus संस्कृ is the form to which अद् and अभ्यास operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that सुद् is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अद् may be added after this सुद्, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संसकरोत् and संसचकार ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after अद् and reduplicate, the सुद् must be placed before क and no where else.

संपर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम् - परि - उपभ्येः, करोतौ, भूषणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेभ्यो भूषणार्थे करोतौ परतः सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

137. The augment सुद् is placed before क when सम्, परि and उप are followed by the verb कृ and the sense is that of ornamenting.

Thus संस्कृता, संस्कृतम्, संस्कृतव्यम् ॥ The म् of सम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुं परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपष्कर्ता, उपष्कर्तुम् उपष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes सुद् comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संस्कृतमग्नम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च सुद्)

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः ससुशयस्तस्मिन्कार्यं करोतौ संपर्युपेभ्यः कात्पूर्वः सुडागमो भवति ॥

138. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after सम्, परि and उप, the sense being that of combining.

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संस्कृतम् तत्र नः परि-स्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपस्कृतम् = ससुशयम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्न, वैकृत, वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तादवस्थाय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञादिस्वादि । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणोपादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतौ धातौ परत उपात् सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप, and the sense is that of 'to take pains for something, to prepare, and to supply an ellipses in a discourse'.

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix अण् being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञादि class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एधोऽस्कस्योपस्कुरुते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योपस्कुरुते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुङ्क्ते, उपस्कृतं गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पति, उपस्कृतमधीते ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. I. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरतौ लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ धातौ लवनविषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ णमुलब्रवन्त्यः ॥

140. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and the sense is that of 'to cut or split',

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काश्मीरका लुनन्ति = विक्षिप्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vârt:—The above augment takes place when णमुल् is added to the verb उप-कृ, as shown in the above examples, When the meaning is not that of 'to cut', the form is उपक्रिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । उपात्तेश्चोत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिंसायां विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

141. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and प्रति, and the sense is "to cause suffering".

Thus उपस्क्राणम् or प्रातस्क्राण हन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयाद् यथा हिंसामनुबभ्नात् ॥

Why do we say when 'the sense is to cause pain'? Observe प्रतिकर्णम् ॥

अपाञ्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात्, शकुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुद्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनिषु, यवालेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुद् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेरात्मनेपदस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

142. The augment सुद् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after अप and the sense is 'the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds'.

Thus अपस्क्रिरते वृषभो हृष्टः, अपस्क्रिरते कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी; अपास्करतश्चा भाभ्यर्थीया = आलिख्य विक्षिपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपक्रिरति देवदत्तः ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place. Therefore not here:—अपक्रिरतिश्चा भोदनपिण्डमाशितः ॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes Âtmanepada affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I, 3, 21. Vârt.

कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणि, जातिः, (सुद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणीति सुद् निपात्यते जातिश्चेद्भवति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुद् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander: i. e. धान्यकं; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुतुम्बुरु (कुत्सितानि तुम्बुरुणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree,

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति सुद् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā

लुप्तेदवश्यमः कृत्ये तुङ्काममनसोरपि ।

समो वा हितततयोर्मांसस्य पचियुद्धमोः ॥

144. The word अपरस्पराः is formed by the augment सुद् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding व्यञ्च् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. I. 123) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम्? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kārika:—"The म् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kṛitya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम् is elided optionally before इति and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, श्रोतुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥

गोस्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः-पदम्, सेवित-असेवित-प्रमाणेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोस्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते तस्य च षत्वं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

145. The word गोस्पद is formed by सुद्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोस्पदो देशः = गावः पश्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोस्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोस्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows'. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोस्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रं, गोस्पदपूरं दृष्टो देवः ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land and rain. When it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोस्पद will give अगोस्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोस्पद = अगोस्पद? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अब्राह्मण means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmana, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोस्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित् is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोस्पद ॥

आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (सुद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मयापनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति सुद् निपात्यते ॥

146. The word आस्पद is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ पदात् = आपदम् ॥

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽद्भुतत्वमिह लक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्यं निपात्यते । चरेराडि चागुराविति यत्प्रत्यये कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

147. The word आश्चर्ये is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर् with the preposition आ, and the augment सुट् ॥ Thus आश्चर्ये यदि स भुञ्जात, आश्चर्ये यदि सो ऽधीयीत ॥ When not having this sense, we have आचर्यं कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तस्मिन्निधेये ऽवस्कर इति निपात्यते । अवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि क्तेदारप् इत्यप् निपातनात्सुट् ॥

148. The word अवस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called वचस्क (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट् ॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम् ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवकरः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेद्भवति । अपपूर्वात्किरतेर्क्तेदारवित्यप्, निपातनात् सुट् ॥

149. The word अपस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from कृ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning, we have अपकरः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेविपूर्वस्येणुपधज्ञाप्तीकिरः कः इति कप्रत्यये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिश्चैव वर्ति । विकिरशब्दाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादृते ।

150. The word विष्किर is formed with सुट् optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. I. 135) to कृ with the preposition वि and the augment सुद् ॥ The word विकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विकरो वा is added from the Vartika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विकिराः कुक्कुटादृते ॥ Though the sūtra विकिरोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विकिर, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that विकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विकिर would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशब्दोत्तरपदे ह्रस्वात्परः सुडागमो भवति मन्त्रविषयः ॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुद् is added to चन्द्र when it is second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus सुचन्द्रो युष्मान् ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all. and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि ॥

प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिष्कशः, च, कशेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यचि कृते सुद् निपात्यते, तस्यैव षत्वम् ॥

Verse माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

152. To the root कश् 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुद्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच् affix (III. I. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश्"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिक्रशोऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कशा is derived from कश्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुद् निपात्यते ऋषी चेदभिधेयौ भवतः ॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुद्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. I. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रस्कण्वो वेशः, (कण्वं पापं तद्यगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य) ॥

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणु परिव्राजकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिन् इत्येतौ यथासंख्यं वेणौ परिव्राजके च निपात्येते ॥

154. The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुद् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोमाहः "an alligator", मकरो समुद्र "an ocean". Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix भच्, the long भा being shortened. Thus मा क्रियत यन प्रातिषिध्यते = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशीलं = मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि ध्यान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन्द इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते नगरे ऽभिधेये ॥

155. The words कास्तार and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कातीरम् (इषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति सुद् निपात्येते वृक्षश्चेद्भवति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारस्कर प्रभृतीनि, च, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च शब्दरूपाणि निपात्यन्ते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुद् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pâraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रयस्या 'N. of a river', किष्कुः 'N. of a measure', किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुद् in the compound of तत् + कर, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुद् between वृहत् + पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तत्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चोर and देवता are used in the Ganapâtha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप् तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुद् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥ This is an âkṛitigaṇa. Thus प्रायश्चित्तम्, प्रायश्चित्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो वेशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुद् तलापश्च (तत्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गावि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया । यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तत्रानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kārikā

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।

पृथक् स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरान्नस्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

षा० ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वराच्चनस्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

158. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudâṭṭa or unaccented. This is a Paribhâṣhâ or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udâṭṭa) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudâṭṭa vowel'. What is the *one* to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपयति the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by आ accent, thus लुनीति has acute accent on ना ॥ The आ accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीतैः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तराम् ॥

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च, पृथक् स्वरानिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥ The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative element, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word'. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. 1. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनङ्गुह् when a sarvanâmsthâna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनङ्गुहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चेतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनडुह्, these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत्+उरन्=चेतुर (चतेरुन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197); अनडुह् is thus derived : अनो वहति=अनस्+वह्+क्लिप्, the स् is replaced by ड्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15=अनडुह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kârâka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of आस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, and अक्षि, there shall be अनङ् acutely accented when दा follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थानि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix कथिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word accutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. 1. 28, 3), i. e. the acute accent on आ in आय gives way to the root-accent which makes य acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem : as कर्त्तव्यम्, and हर्त्तव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यत् (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavâda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गुप् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गु (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय. is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपाय gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhātu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudâtta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “परानित्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वैरव्यवस्था सति प्रकृतिशिष्टेन च” ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavâda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिशिष्ट ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kâsikâ: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति “that which

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वरः "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the *affix* is an apavâda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1, 192) by which the final of a dhātu is acute, and it debars the dhātu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even after the addition of the affix, these words *retain* the designation of dhātu. Similarly in काष्णोत्तरासङ्गपुत्रः, "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarâsanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrîhi-accent (VI. 2.1) being an apavâda to Samâsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samâsa-accent; but this Bahuvrîhi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrîhi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sârvadhâtuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

Vart:—The नञ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिष्ठः, here the accent of जस् vibhakti after तिसृ (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ट is debarred by नञ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अचत्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चत्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanâma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This औ is udâtta (VI. 1. 98). But this udâtta is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say 'in the body of a *pada*'? In a *sentence*, every word will retain its accent. As देवदत्त ! गोमभ्याज शुक्लाम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद is in fact used in this sūtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद when completed; had it meant the full ready made *pada*, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sūtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full 'pada' been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कुवल is acutely accented on the first as belonging to ग्रामादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix डीष् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudâtta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अञ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्या विकारः = कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भिणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grâmâdi class Phit II. 15), with, the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीष् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udâtta causes all the rest syllables anudâtta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a *pada* or not, then the word गर्भिणी being anudâtta-di would have taken अञ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्षादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पद, then the word गर्भिणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्षात्वतो घञो ऽन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, अत्वतः, घञः, अन्तः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवतश्च घञन्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

159. A stem formed with the Kṛita-affix घञ् has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कृष् (कर्षति) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्षः, पार्कः, त्यागः, रागः, रायः, धायः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicator ञ् have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhvâdi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्-कृषति of Tudâdigana. The word कर्षः derived from Tudâdi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उञ्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञ्छ इत्येवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

160. The words उञ्छ &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus 1. उञ्छः, 2. म्लेच्छः, 3. जञ्जः, 4. जल्पः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जर्षः, 6. बर्धः are formed by भष् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्यर्धः also here. 7. युगः is derived from युज् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is योगः ॥ 8. गरः = (दूष्ये); is formed by भष्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेगः, वेदः, वेष्टः (चेष्टः), and बन्धः, करणे ॥ These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुद्बुद्धन्दसि, e. g. परिष्टुत्, परिदुत्, संयुत् ॥ 11. वर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sâma Veda, the word वर्त्तनिः occurring in the Sâma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्वन्ने हरः, the हरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by भष् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, thus साम्बः, तार्षः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमः, शश्वत्तमः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्थभोगमन्याः (भोगदेहा) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a ण्यन्त root is here घञन्तं ॥

1 उज्ज, 2 म्लेच्छ, 3 जज्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 पुग, 8 गरो वृष्ये, 9 वेव-
वेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुयुद्बुवच्छन्दसि (परिणुत्, संयुत्, परिदुत्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे
12 श्वभ्रे हरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशब्दौ) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्थ-
भोगमन्थाः (भक्षमन्थभोगदेहाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यत्र, उदात्त-
लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्ननुदात्ते परत उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्यानुदात्तस्याविस्मृतो भवति ॥

161. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word *udatta* is understood here. Thus कुमारै + ई = कुमारी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (*anudatta*) डीप् is added to it, the ई is elided (VI. I. 148), the *anudatta* ई becomes *udatta*. So also पृथिन् + शस् = पृथैः (VII. I. 88), पृथिन् + ए = पृथे, पृथिन् + आ = पृथा ॥ The पृथिन् has acute on the last. So also कुसुर् + इमत्तु = कुसुर्वान् (IV. 2. 87), नृङ्गन्, वेत्स्वन् ॥ The words कुसुर् &c, are end-acute, and the affix मन् (वन्) is *anudatta* (III. I. 4).

Why 'an *anudatta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यन् = प्रासङ्गयः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहात IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रासङ्ग is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by घञ् with gati) it is followed by य which is svarita (VI. I. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of ई *udatta*: but it does not itself become *udatta*. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. I. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be *udatta* or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become *anudatta*. Therefore when य is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ई) will become *anudatta*. So there is no *lopa* of *udatta* when य comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* *anudatta* becomes *udatta*. Had *anudatta* not been used, the sūtra would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तालुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्ता भवात्, for the anuvritti of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and माहि धुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दुह् + क्स् + आताम् = दुह् + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the *udatta* अ of स् ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताम् would be *udatta*, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अ would have been *udatta* (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम् would have become *anudatta* in माधुक्षाताम् because of तिङ्ङित्तिङ् (VIII. I. 28). See VIII. I. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the sūtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent *anudatta* may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous *udatta*; such *udatta* being elided by some other operator, and still such *anudatta* would have become *udatta*. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवौ, भृगवः ॥ Here भृगवः is plural of भार्गवः ॥ The word भार्गव is end-acute and this acute (अण्) was elided in the plural, before the affix जस् was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become udâtta, which would have been the case, had यत्र not been used. प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udâtta* is elided"? Observe बह् + अञ् (IV. 1. 104) = ^३बह् ॥ The feminine of this will be बैह् + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = बैही ॥ Here ई causes the elision of auûdâtta अ of ह्, and hence remains unchanged. So also औ वी ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus पैचति, पैठति, ऊर्णोति, गोपार्यति, यति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

163. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicative च्, gets acute on the end syllable.

Thus भंगुरम्, भासुरम्, मेदुरम्. These are formed by घुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्ड is added हान in the sense of मत्प्, then is added the feminine affix डीप्, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍinî will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यञ् of Gargâdi). The plural of Kaunḍinya will be formed by eliding यञ् and substituting कुण्डिनच् for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicative च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपदुः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68), The accent will not, therefore, fall on हु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अक्रच्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चैर्क्रः (V. 3. 71).

तद्धितस्य ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त इत्येव । चितस्तद्धितस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

164. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicative च्, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus काञ्जायनाः formed by the affix च्फञ् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज + च् फञ् + ज्य = कौञ्जायन्यः dual कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (ज्य being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to च्फञ् accent). In this affix there are two indicative letters च् and ञ्; the च् has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while ञ् has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI.1. 197, and another to cause Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च् or of ञ् ॥ The present rule declares that it should get

the accent of च and not of अ, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if अ was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्येव । तद्धितस्य कितोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

165. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicatory क, has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus नाडाग्र्यः formed by क् (IV. 1. 99), so also चाराग्र्यः ॥ Similarly भाक्षिकः, शालाक्रिकः formed by ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः, जसः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उत्तरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

166. The Nominative plural (जस्) of तिसृ has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus तिसृस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तिसृ (feminine of त्रि VII. 2. 99) meaning 'three' is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udātta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl); which would have been Svarita, but for this rule. If जस् be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तिसृभ्यः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस् only, why has then it been employed in the sūtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in this sūtra, then in the case of simple तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is second member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतितिस्रौ would have become end-acute. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

167. The word चतुर्, followed by the accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुर् पश्य the accent is on तु ॥ The feminine of चतुर् is चतसृ (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vārt), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable, This is so, because चतुर् has acute on the first, as formed by उरन् affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vārtika चतसर्थाद्युदात्तनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

present rule does not apply to चतसृ ॥ Another reason for this is as follows: चतसृ + शस् = चतस्र + शस् ॥ Now comes the present Sûtra; here, however, the substitute of कृ being sthânavat, will prevent the udâtta formation of the ऋ of त; nor will कृ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel कृ but a consonant र which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुर्ः, Pro. Mâx Muller चतुरः ॥ I have followed Prof. Mâx Muller in interpreting this sûtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर् ॥

सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः, विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुशब्दस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुपपत्ता भवति ॥

168. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सो (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural. Thus वाचा, वाग्भ्याम्, वाग्भिः, वाग्भ्यः, याता, यादभ्याम्, याद्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रौज्ञा, रौज्ञे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हिरिणा, गिरिणा, रौजसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वाँचौ, वाँचः ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विभक्तिः)?" Observe वाँक्तरा, वाँक्तरा ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sûtra, the rule does not apply to त्वया and त्वयि, as in the plural of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in singular locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच् इति वर्तते, तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पर्युद्ध्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच् तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यामुपपत्ता भवति ॥

169. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाँचा or परमवाँचौ, परमवाँचे or वाँचे; परमवाँचः or वाँचः ॥ So also परमत्वँचा or त्वँचे &c. According to VI. 1. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final: that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe भवाचा, सुवाचा, सुत्वचा ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word नित्यसमासे indicated that the compound was meant? Had we not used the word उत्तर-पदान्, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाचः will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to इवोर्क् (शुन ऊर्क्) Ins. श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जे: &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe अग्निर्चिता, सोमसुता ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि udâtta.

अञ्चेऽछन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनाम-स्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः परा ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanâmasthâna, get the acute accent when coming after भञ्चि ॥

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च्, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus इन्द्रा वृधीर्चो अस्थानिः (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word वृधीच् had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥ Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanâmasthâna has been used here to include the ending शस् also. As प्रताचो बाहून् प्रतिभङ्ग्येषाम् ॥

ऊडिदम्पदाद्यपुञ्चैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊड्, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै, युभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊड् इदम् पदादि अप् पुम् रै दिव् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

171. The same (asarvanâmasthâna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in बाह्, also after इदम्, after पद् &c (upto निश् VI. 1. 63), after अप्, पुम्, रै and दिव् ॥

The ऊड् is the substitute of the वा of बाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊड् taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus प्रुडौर्होः, प्रुडौर्होः, but not in अक्षयुवा (Ins. sing of अक्षयूः derived by ऊड् substitution of व् in अक्षदिव् VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याम्, एभिः The anuvritti of "अन्तोदात्तात्" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इदम् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvādeśa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudātta, this rule does not apply, as अयो औभ्यां निपुणमधीत ॥ The पदादि words are पद्, इत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निपुणैश्चतुर्षु ऊहि, या इ तां धावति, अपः पश्यः, अद्भिः, अद्भ्यः, पुंसः, पुम्भ्योम्, पुम्भ्यः, पुंसां, पुंसैः, रायैः पश्य, राभ्योम्, राभ्यैः, दिवैः, दिवो, दिवैः ॥ As regards the other cases of दिव् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाचः is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udātta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudātta, except when these words become monosyllabic:—As गीवायां वद्धो अपि कक्ष आसीनि, मत्स्यं न दीन उद्दिनि क्षियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो दीर्घान्तादसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

172. The asarvanāmasthāna case-endings after अष्टन् ‘eight’, have acute accent, when it gets the form अष्टा ॥

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट ॥ The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udātta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टाभिः opposed to अष्टभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अष्टभ्यः, अष्टासु con. अष्टसु ॥ The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घृतादि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debar it. The use of दीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would always end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शतुः, अनुमः, नदी, अजादी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादिति वर्तते । अनुमः यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तोदात्तात्परा नदी अजादिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानमुदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बृहन्महतीरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

173. After an oxytone Participle in अत् the feminine suffix ई, (nadi) and the case endings beginning with vowels

(with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment न् (i. e. is not अन्त).

The word अन्तोदात्तात् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तुदती^३, तुदती^३, लुनती, पुनती^३, तुदता, लुनता, पुनता, सुनता from तुदन्, तुदन् लुनन् and पुनन् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment नुम्?" Observe तुदन्ता, तुदन्ती ॥ Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुद् which has an indicative अ, in the Dhâtupâtha, being written तुद्, the sârvadhâtuka affix शन् (अन्) is anudâta. This anudâta अन्, coalescing with the udâta अ of तुद् (VI. 1. 162), becomes udâta (VIII. 2. 5); and Rule VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix. Why do we say "a नदी (feminine in ई) word and before vowel-endings?" Observe तुदद्भ्याम्, तुदद्भ्याम् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As ददती, ददती ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

Vart:—The words बृहती and महती should also be included: as बृहती^३ महती^३, बृहतौ, महतौ ॥

उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त, यणः, हल्, पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थानं यो यण् हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजादिर्या ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ नकारग्रहणं च कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

174. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus कर्त् + ई = कर्त्री^३; कर्त्रा^३, हर्त्रा^३, हर्त्रा^३, प्रलुवित्री, प्रलुवित्रा^३ ॥ प्रलुवित्रा^३ ॥ All these are तृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why 'acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कर्त्री, कर्त्रा, हर्त्री, हर्त्रा, formed by तृन् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुतितृ^३—बहुतितृवा ब्राह्मण्या (VIII. 2. 4) बहूनि तितृजनि अस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः ॥ This compound with बहु gets udâta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतितृ, the तृ is replaced by तृ, but as this तृ is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart:—The rule applies when the stem ends in न् though not in a semi-vowel, as वाक्पत्नी^३, चितृपत्नी^३ ॥

नोङ् धात्वोः ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊङ्, धात्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण् हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा ऽजाद्यसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix ऊ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udâta ऊ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udâta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-

endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धा, ब्रह्मबन्धे, धीरबन्धा, धीर बन्धे from धीरबन्धू, which has acute accent on ऊ, because ऊ is udâtta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udâtta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ऊ before the ending भा, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udâtta (उदात्तयण) the affix after it would have become udâtta by the last sūtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण):—सकृल्ल, सकृल्ले; खल्ले from सकृल्ल, खल्ले formed by क्लिप् affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83 before the vowel case-endings.

ह्रस्वमुडङ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, मुडङ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोदात्तान्मुदश्चपरोमतुब् उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रेशब्दाच्च मतुप् उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ त्रेश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented मत् (वत्) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment न् (VIII. 2. 16).

The word अन्तोदात्तान् is understood here also. Thus अग्निमान्, वायुमान्, कर्तृमान्, हर्तृमान् ॥ So also when मतुप् takes नुद्, as अक्षुण्वता, शीर्षुण्वता ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अक्षि takes अनङ् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added नुद् by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न् मतुप् ॥ The preceding न् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodâtta) this rule does not apply : as वैसुमान् ॥ The word वैसु has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from वस् with the affix उ (Un I. 10) which is नित् (Un I. 9) so the मतुप् retains its anudâtta here. So also in the case of मरुत्वान्, the affix does not become acute, though the word मरुत् has acute on the final as the intervening त् makes the उ of रु heavy when the affix is added; the general maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vart :—The affix मतुप् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of रे : as आरेवान् = रयिरस्यास्ति ॥ There is vocalisation of य of रयि, as र इ इ then substitution of one, as र इ, then guṇa, रे ॥

Vart :—The prohibition should be stated after त्रिः as त्रिवर्तीयाज्यानु-
वाक्या भवन्ति ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वग्रहणमनुवर्तते मतुब्ग्रहणं च । तेन मतुपा ह्रस्वो विशेष्यते । मतुपि यो ह्रस्वस्तदन्तादन्तोदा-
त्तादन्यतरस्यां नाम् उदात्तो भवति ॥

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending नाम् has optionally the acute accent.

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्तृणाम् or कर्तृणाम् (see VII. 1. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the anuvritti of ह्रस्व 'short or light vowel' be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम् acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the लुट् augment (VII. 1. 54) and not आम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वाम् शक्रव्याम् which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Un III, 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe त्रैपूणाम्, वैसूनाम् the words त्रयु and वसु have acute on the first syllable.

उयाश्चन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उयाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृष्णन्ताच्छन्दसि विषये नामुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

178. In the Chhandas, the ending नाम् has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus देवसैनानाम् अभिभञ्जतीनाम्, बह्वीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as नदीनाम् पारे; जयन्तीनाम् मरुतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येतन्निवृत्तम्। षट्संज्ञकेभ्यस्त्रिचतुर इत्येताभ्यां च परा हलादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24), as well as after त्रि and चतुर् ॥

The anuvritti of अन्तोदात्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचन् and नैवन् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus षण्णाम्, षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः, पञ्चानाम्, सप्तानाम्, त्रिभिः, त्रिभ्यः, त्रयाणाम्, चतुर्णाम् (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe अतस्तः पश्य (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

झल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ झलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या झलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते परे यदुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति। त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्यमुत्तमं तत्समीपे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a भ् or स्, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a हल् consonant, form a full word (पद), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद must be of three syllables at least. Thus पञ्चभिः, सप्तभिः, तिसृभिः, चतुर्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with भ् and स्'? Observe, पञ्चानाम्, सप्तनाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या हलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते पदे उपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The हलादि case-affixes coming after the above numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus पञ्चभिः or पञ्चभिः ॥ In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सप्तभिः or सप्तभिः, तिसृभिः or तिसृभिः ॥

न गोश्वन्त्साववर्णराडङ्कुङ्कृदभ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गो, श्वन्, सौ अवर्ण, राड्, अङ्, कुङ्, कृदभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो श्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यदवर्णान्तं राड् अङ् कुङ् कृद् इत्येतेभ्यो यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after गो, and श्वन् and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has अ or आ, nor after राज्, or after a stem ending in अञ्च्, nor as well as after कुञ्च् and कृत् ॥

Thus गवा, गवे, गोभ्याम् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुगुणा, सुगवे and सुगुभ्याम् ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also शुना, शुने, श्वभ्याम्, परमशुना, परमशुन and परमश्वभ्याम् ॥ The word साववर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before सु (1st. sing.)' Thus येभ्यः, तेभ्यः, केभ्यः ॥ राज्:—राजा, राजे, परमराजा ॥ (The word राज is formed by क्तिप् affix): अङ्=अञ्च्+क्तिन्; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus ग्राञ्चा, ग्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as ग्राच्चा, ग्राच्चे ग्राभ्याम् ॥ कुङ् is also a क्तिन् formed word. Thus कुञ्चा, कुञ्चे, परमकुञ्चा ॥ कृत् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृत् 'to cut' by क्तिप्; as कृता कृते and परमकृता ॥ Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form श्वा and consequently it is साववर्णः? The inclusion of श्वन् indicates that the elision of न should not be considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like नृ and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as ना and पिता after the elision of न् of अनङ् (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of नृ will

be नरि by VI. 1. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मतुष् will get udâtta after पिता by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमौन् ॥ But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a साववर्ण ॥

दिवो झल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, झल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा झलादिर्विभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

183. After दिव् a case-ending beginning with भ or स is unaccented.

Thus द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवो, दिवे ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्मात्परा झलादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोदात्ता भवति ॥

184. After नृ, a case ending beginning with भ or स is optionally unaccented.

Thus नृभिः or नृभिः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्याम्, नृभ्याम्, नृषु, नृषु ॥ But not so धौ, धे ॥

तित्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्, स्वरितम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्स्वरितं भवति ॥

185. An affix having an indicatory त्, is svarita i. e. has circumflex accent.

Thus चिक्रीर्ष्यम्, जिह्मीर्ष्यम्, formed by यन् (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with ण्यन् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes âdyudâtta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेनृडिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विडोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, डिद्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-द्, इडो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासेरनुदात्तेतोडितो ङ्कारान्तोपदेशाच्च शब्दात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तं च भवति हुङ् इङ् इत्य-
ताभ्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are sârvadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhâtupâtha has an unaccented vowel or a ङ् (with the exception of हुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudâttet :—as, भास्—भास्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ डित् :—षूङ्=सूते, शीङ्=शेते ॥ अन् उप-
देशः :—as तुस्तः, नुस्तः, पैचतः, पैठतः ॥ A root taking णप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters ञ् and ण् are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं (= अनवयवत्वं) ॥ Thus पंचमानः, यजमानः ॥ The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (aṅga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (aṅga) which ends in अ, when आने follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अदुपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim यदागमार्तमुणीभूतास्तदग्रहेण गृह्यन्ते "That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment". Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अदुपदेश ॥ But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्वाधातुक does not follow an अदुपदेश, because म intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक् (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शानच् has an indicatory च, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe चितुर्तेः चिन्वर्तिः ॥ The vikaraṇa अनु is डित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though अनु is considered as डित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word डित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to डिदुपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक डित् like इतु ॥

Why do we use the word upadeśa? So that the rule may apply to पंचामः, पचामः, but not to इतः, इयः the dual of इन् which ends in न् in upadesa. though before तस् and थस् it has assumed the form इ ॥ Therefore इतैः इयैः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह पंचमाना formed by शानन् added to पू (III. 2. 128), which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like शानच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sârvadhâtuka? Observe शिद्ये, शिद्यते, शिद्यिरे ॥ Why do we say with the exception of हनुङ् and इङ्? Observe हनुर्ते, यद् अधीते ॥

आदिः सिचो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्,

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । सिञ्जन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सिच आद्युदात्तत्वे ऽनिटः पितः पक्षे उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

187. In सिच् Aorist, the first syllable may optionally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कर्थाय, मा हि कर्थाय; मा हि लाविष्टाय or मा हि लाविष्टाय ॥ In the last example the accent is on पि; and the

reason why मा and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicator च् of सिच् shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment इद्, when it takes this augment. The सिच् being a वलादि affix will take the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the वि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicator च् of सिच्, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus वि gets acute.

Vart.—An affix having an indicator प् (पित्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इद् (अनिद् सिच्) is in one alternative udâtta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vârtika restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhātu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anudâtta. Thus माहि कार्षम् or मा हि कार्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इद् augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लाविषम् as a तिङन्त, (2nd.) मा हि लाविषम् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163). but never मा हि लाविषम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिर्हिसामच्यनिदि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिसाम, अचि, अनिदि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वधातुकग्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदच्यनिदीति सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिसेश्वाजा-
दावनिदि लसार्वधातुके परतो अन्यतस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sârvadhâtuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment इद्, follows after स्वप् &c, or after हिस् ॥

The phrase लसार्वधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वपन्ति or स्वपन्ति, श्वसन्ति or श्वसन्ति, हिसन्ति or हिसन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वप्यान्, हिस्यान् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इद्'? Observe स्वपित्तेः and श्वसित्तेः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are ङित्; it does not apply to स्वपानि, हिसानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजादावनिदि लसार्वधातुके परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

189. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not इद्) and being a sârvadhâtuka personal ending.

Thus ईक्षति, ईक्षतु, ईधति, ईधतु, जक्षति, जक्षतुः, जामति, जामतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: द्यान् ॥ Before सेद् affixes:—जक्षित्तेः ॥ Though the word आदि was

understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing.

अनुदात्ते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्वधातुके परतो ऽभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

190. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings तिप् सिप् and मिप् are anudatta (III. 1. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईहाति, जहाति, ईधाति, जिहीते, मिमीते ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrīhi i. e. an affix in which there is no udatta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि स्म ईधात्, and ईधात्यत्र ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुपि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्वरो ऽनकच्कस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. The acute is on the first syllable of सर्व when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वः, सर्वः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on व ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇādi list by निपातन् ॥ It thus being anudattādi takes the affix अच् and forms सार्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vārt :—The rule does not apply when the affix अकच् is put in : as सर्वकः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीहीभृहुमदजनधनदारिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दारिद्रा, जागराम्, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु मद् जन धन दारिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद्, जन, धन, दारिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sâr-vadhâtuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभेति, जिहति, बिभेति, जुहति, ममचु नः परिज्मा ॥ Here the root मद् has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa भृ, though it belongs to Divādi class. जर्जनत्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लृट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. दधनत् from धन धान्ये,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अद् being added by III. 4. 94 वर्धनत्, वरिद्राति, जार्गेति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have वैशति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicator प् (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as वरिद्रति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicator ल् ॥

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिह्मीर्षकः with the affix ण्वल् (III. 1. 133), भौतिकविधम् and पेषुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लोलूयम् or लोलूयम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लोलु, the second part लु is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, लु will get the accent by लिन् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutes, namely to reduplicated Absolutes (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेशइति वर्तते । अजन्ता ये उपदेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātu-pāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ स्तीर्यते or स्तीर्यते केशरः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186).. This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātupāṭha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते स्वयमेव; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिर्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयते केशरो देवदत्तेन ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उदात्तो भवति अन्तो वा भाविर्वा ऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending थ् of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment इ; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this इ, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुलविथ, लुलविथ, लुलविथ, and लुलविथ. As थल् has an indicative ल्, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ् is not सेद्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193):—ययौथ ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिति निते च नित्यमादिहस्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicative अ् or ए, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गर्ग्य with यञ् (IV. 1. 105), वासुदेवक, भर्जुनक with वुन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e. the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62. Therefore गर्गाः, विराः, चञ्चाः having lost यञ्, अञ् and कन्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिहस्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent.

Thus देवदत्त !, देवदत्तौ !, देवदत्ताः ॥ This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुमान् word (लुक्, लुप् or लुलु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As सर्पिरा-गच्छ ! सर्पा गच्छत ! ॥

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दावौणादिकाविनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययस्वरणान्तोऽन्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आदि-हस्तो भवति ।

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of पथिन् and मथिन् when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the Unâdi affix इति, (IV. 12. and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become âdyudâtta before strong cases. Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पथेः पथ्य, मथेः मथ्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udâtta इन् ॥ The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिप्रियः, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्चशब्दादिश्च युगपदुदात्तो भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कैतवै, हंतवै ॥ This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्दो निवासे ऽभिधेये आद्युदात्तो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षये जागृहि प्रपश्यन् ॥ The word is formed by घ affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have : क्षयो वर्तते इत्युनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आद्युदात्ता भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory'.

Thus जयोऽश्वः, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by घ affix, (III. 1. 118) the second by अच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्यवमादीनामादिर्वात्तो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जैतुः, 3. ज्वरः, 4. ग्रहः, 5. ह्यः, 6. गयः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The word गय is from गे-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. अमः, 12. वेदः, 13. सूदः, 14. वदः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kâśika). सूद is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुहा (formed by अङ् III. 3. 104). 17. शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकर्मणोः :— क्षमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. शान्तिः formed by क्तिच्, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. शारा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अङ् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by घञ्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. हवः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 उवर 4 ग्रहः 5 हयः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः, 10 चयः*, 11 भ्रमः*, 12 वेदः, 13 मूढः, 14 अंशः, 15 गुहा, 16 शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावक्रमणोः, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पारः 27 पयः, 28 हवः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्चा, वैघ्निका, खरकुटी, हौसी ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अप्रिमाणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देवदत्तः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्व्यच्, अनात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्व्यच् संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तं भवति चेदादिराकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त (Nishṭhâ), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus शुभ्रः, बुद्धः, ईक्षः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवैः, भीमैः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितैः, रक्षितः ॥ In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, वार्तैः, आर्तैः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कर्तृम्, हर्तृम् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इति वर्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतावाद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

206. Also शुष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्ता ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

207. The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अश् preceded by आ, to form both Active and Passive Participles: which by VI. 2. 144 would have taken acute on the final. This debars that. In the Passive Participle we have आशितम् देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta'. आशितमन्नम् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्तेः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्ट, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टेः ; अर्पितः or अर्पितेः ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words जुष्ट and अर्पित have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टं देवानामर्पितं पितॄणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित ; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra : so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even : e. g. तस्मिन्साकं त्रिशता न शंक्रवोर्पितौ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्दसि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद-अस्मदोः, डसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिकप्रत्ययान्ते ऽन्तोदात्ते तयोर्दसि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तव, and not मे and ते ॥ Thus मम स्वम्, तव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष् and अस by adding the affix मदिक (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + ङस् = युष्मद् + अश् (VII. 1. 27) = तव अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = तवै + अश् (VII. 2. 90) = तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udâtta, the present sūtra makes त udâtta. So also with मम ॥

डयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ डयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिरुदात्त इति च । इत्येतस्मिन् परतो युष्मदस्मदोरुदात्तो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Dative Singular.

Thus तुभ्यम् and मेहम्, the forms त् and मे are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been युष्मदस्मदो ङिङ्सोः, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च द्व्यजनारित्यतो द्व्यङ्ग्रहणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यच् आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चेन्नो-
शब्दात्परो भवति ।

213. Whatever is formed by the affix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नाव्यः from नौ ॥

The word द्व्यच् is understood here from VI. I. 205. Thus चैयम्, जैयम् (III. I. 97); कैण्यम्, औण्यम् (V. I. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. I. 185) ॥ But नौ—नाव्यम् ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—चिकीर्ष्यम्, ललाय्यम् ॥

ईडवन्द्वृशंसदुहां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस्, दुहाम्, ण्यतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन्द वृ शंस दुह इत्येतेषां यो ण्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस् and दुह, when they are followed by the affix ण्यत् ॥

Thus ईड्यम्, वन्द्यम्, वार्यम्, शंस्यम्, वृह्या धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'nyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sūtra is वृङ् संभक्तौ of Kriyadi class: the वृञ् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. I. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतयोर्विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of वेणु and इन्धान ॥

Thus वेणुः or वेणुः; इन्धानः or इन्धानः or इन्धानः ॥ The word वेणु is derived by the Uṇādi affix णु (III. 38), which being a नित् would *always* have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्धान, if it is formed by चानश् it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शानच्, the affix being a sârvadhâtuka is anudâtta, and as it replaces udâtta final of the root, it becomes udâtta (VI. I. 161), and thus इन्धान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamâna वेणुरिव वेणुः, then it is *invariably* acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा आशिस्तो भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागः or त्यागैः, रागः, रागैः, हासः, हासैः ॥ These are formed by घञ् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहैः, श्वठः or श्वठैः, क्रथः or क्रथैः formed by भञ् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिङन्तस्योपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicative र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus कर्णेयम् and हर्णेयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. 1. 96); षडुजातीयः, षडुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङुचन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्तं अन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चङ्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीक्रेताम् or चीक्रेताम् ॥ The augment अङ् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अङ् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि वधेत् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संज्ञाया-
म्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्व आकार उदात्तो भवति तद्येन्मत्वन्तं स्त्रीलिङ्गं संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मत् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्बरीवती, पुष्करिवती, शरीवती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीरगावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुर्मती, इक्षुवती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and इक्षु (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मतुप् by VI. 1. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खट्वावती ॥ खट्वा is formed by कृन् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe दासवान् ॥ Why do we say when followed by मन् ॥ Observe गवादिनी ॥

अन्तो ऽवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामित्येव । भवतीशब्दान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तो भवति ।

220. The Names ending in अवती have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus अजिखती, खिखती, हंसवती, कारण्डवती ॥ These words being formed by डीप् would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use भवती and not वती? Then the rule would apply to राजवती also, for this word is really राजन्वती ending in भन्वती, the subsequent elision of न् is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of म into व (मन् = वन्) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति स्त्रियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

221. The Names ending in ईवती have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus अहीवती, कृषीवती, मुनीवती ॥

चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चावित्यञ्चतिर्जुननकारो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नन्तः पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ चावतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in अञ्च्, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only च् of अञ्च् remains.

Thus र्धीचः पश्य; र्धीचा, र्धीचे: मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vart:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As दाधीर्चः, माधूचः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus राजपुरुर्यैः ब्राह्मणकम्बलैः, कन्याखनैः, पटहशब्दैः, नदीधौर्षैः, राजदृष्टैः, ब्राह्मणसर्मिणैः ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udatta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदग्रहणमत्र पूर्वपदस्थे स्वर उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावतिष्ठते, न विकारमनुशासित्वमापद्यते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrîhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपदम् means here the accent—whether udâtta or svarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudâtta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudâtta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrîhi would have lost its accent and become anudâtta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udâtta. Thus कौर्णोत्तरासङ्गाः ॥ The word कौर्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix भञ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also शूषवलजः; the word शूष is derived from शु by the Unâdi affix ष (Un III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Un III. 25) and the affix is treated as नित् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारिपरिस्कन्धः; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुत्रः, the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udâtta on the first syllable. So also अध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a लित् affix (III. 1. 133, VI. 1. 193). श्रोत्रियपुत्रः, the श्रोत्रिय being enounced with an indicative न् in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by यन् (IV. 1. 161) a तित् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words *udâta* and *svârîta* are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the *pûrvapada* are *anudâta*, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get *udâta* on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. I. 223. Thus *समभागः*, here *सम* being *all* *anudâta*, the accent falls on *ग* ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थे तृतीयान्तं सप्तम्यन्तमुपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयान्तं कृत्यान्तं च यत्पूर्वपदं सत्प्रकृतस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a *Tatpurusha*, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning "a resemblance", or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यलोहितः, तुल्यमहान्, सदृक्च्छेतः, सदृग्लोहितः, सदृग्महान् ॥ These are *Karmadhâraya* compounds formed under II. I. 68 : and *तुल्य* being formed by *यत्* is acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 216). The word *सदृश्* is formed by *क्विप्* (III. 2, 60 Vârt), and has acute on the final (VI. I. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदृशश्वेतः, सदृशलोहितः, सदृशमहान् ॥ The word *सदृश्* is formed by *कश्* added to *दृश्*, and by VI. I. 197 the accent falls on *दृ* (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शंकुलया खण्डः = शंकुल-खण्डः, so also किरिकाणः (II. I. 30) शंकुला is derived from शंकु + ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of यत्, and thus the noun ला is *udâta* : or the whole word शंकुला is a word formed by क affix and hence VI. I. 165 applies and is final-acute. किरिः is formed by the *Unâdi* affix इ to कृ (Un IV. 143), and it being treated as a क्विप् (Un. IV. 142) has *udâta* on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः, so also पानशौण्डः ॥ The word *अक्ष* is formed by the affix स added to अश् (Un. III. 65), and is final acute (III. I. 3). The word *पान* is formed by ल्यप् affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. I. 193) owing to the लिट् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—शस्त्रीद्यामा, कुमुदश्येनी, हंसगद्गहा, न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला, वृषा-कौण्डद्यामा, शरकाण्डगौरी ॥ These compounds are formed by II. I. 55. शस्त्री is formed by डीष् and is final-acute ; कुमुद is formed by क affix (कौ मोदते = कुमुद) see III. 2. 5. Vârt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by *Phit sūtra* II. 3 it has acute on the first. हंस is formed by the *Unâdi* affix स added to हन्

(Un III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यमोहति = न्यमोधः formed by भच् (III. 1. 134), and ह is irregularly changed into ध as Pānini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words दूर्वाकाण्ड, शरकाण्ड are Genitive Tatpuruṣa, and their second member has accent on the first syllable (VI. 2. 135). (5) When the first member is an Indeclinable, as, ईर्वाह्यः, ईर्वृषलः, ईर्वाह्यः, ईर्वृषलः ॥ निष्कौशान्विः, निर्वाराणसिः, ईतिखट्वः, ईतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udātta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vart:—In cases of Indeclinable compounds. the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृन्-accent as अकरणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyāsakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as:—मुहूर्त्तसुखम्, मुहूर्त्तरमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रिकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रिशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त्त belongs to पृषोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्रि is formed by the samāsanta affix अच् and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योष्णम्, पानीयशीतम्, हरणीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by ण्यन् and has svarita on the final: पानीय and हरणीय are formed by अनीय् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on ई ॥

वर्णोवर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तत्पुरुषइति च वर्तते । वर्णं वर्णवाचि पूर्वपदं वर्णवाचिष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतदशब्दवार्ति-
तेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpuruṣa preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णकल्माषः, लोहितकल्माषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by क् affix (Un. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रुह् (Un. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word' ? Observe परमकृष्णैः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word' ? Observe कृष्णातिर्लः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत' ? Observe कृष्णैर्तैः, लोहितैर्तैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाथ or लवण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus शम्बगाथमुदकम्, अरित्रगाथमुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. गोमलवणम्, अश्वलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्ब is formed by adding वन् to शम् (Un. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरित्र is formed by the affix इत्र added to अरि (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): गो is formed by डो (Un. II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; अश्व is formed by क्वन् affix added to अश् (Un. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगार्धम् and परमलवणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे दायादशब्दउत्तरपदे दायाद्यवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दायाद as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायादः, धनदायादः ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udâtta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धाञ् (Un. II. 81). Though the Unâdi Sûtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुल (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायादः &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायाद requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vârtika प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a शैषिक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद Genitive. If it is a शेषलक्षण Genitive case, then why the other Genitive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायाद &c. That sûtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the *alternative*, and does not prevent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that sûtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debar's the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sûtra indicates the *alternative* nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an apûrva-vidhi, the words naturally would have taken Genitive ; the taking of the Locative is the only new thing taught there.

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमशायार्हः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रतिबन्धिवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, having the words चिर or कृच्छ्र as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, गमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणचिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyaṅsakâdi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When going to a place is delayed owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes difficult, there is produced an obstacle or hinderance, and is called गमनचिरं or गमनकृच्छ्रं ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe मुत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदेऽपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तद्वाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्दोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpuruṣa compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word पद denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः, उच्चारपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix ट्न् to the root मुच्, the ऊ being substituted for उच् of मुच्, (Un. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूत्रयति ॥ The word उच्चार is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दोत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word निवात in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुञ्चोऽनं निवातं = कुञ्चोऽननिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शमीनिवातम्, कुड्यनिवातम् or कुड्यनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bhâva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrîhi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शमी are formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड्य is derived from कु by adding यत् with the augment डक् and treating it as कित्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix ड्यक् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राज-निवाते वसति, सुखं मातृनिवाते = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदे ऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तो भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद, having any other sense than that of 'autumnal'.

The word आर्तव means appertaining to season (कर्तु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रज्जुशारदमुत्कम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also दृष्टं शारदाः सक्तवः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रज्जु is formed by ड affix added to सृज् (Un. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix ड is treated as नित् (Un. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word दृष्टं is formed by the augment ष and shortening of the vowel of the root दृ 'to tear' (दृणाति), and the affix अदिक् (Un. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe परमशारदम्, उत्तमशारदम् 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्वर्युकषाययोजातौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जातिवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्राच्याध्वर्युः, कर्माध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राच्य is formed by यत्, and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 213). कठ is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कठेन प्रोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vārtika which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 vart). Thus कालाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिमण्डकषायम्, उमापुष्पकषायम्, शैवारिककषायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिमण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word शैवारिक is formed by उक् affix added to शार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाध्वर्युः, परमकषायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is

सदृश or प्रतिरूप ॥

Thus पितृसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by Unādi affix तृच् (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सदृश forms Instrumental Tatpurusha. That case, however, is governed by VI. 2. 2, which provides for Instrumental compounds. The examples here given are of Genitive Tatpurusha: and it applies to cases where the case-ending is not elided. As दास्याः सदृशो, वृषल्याः सदृशः ॥ Here दासी and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also पितृप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus प्राच्यसप्तसमः and गान्धारिसप्तसमः ॥ The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाण-मस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्राच्यश्चासौ सप्तसमश्च = प्राच्यसप्तसमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारि-सप्तसमः or षट्समः ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe ब्रीहिप्रस्थः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure'? Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिज्यस्य उत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः, काश्मीरवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्रादिषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Un II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काश्मार belongs to Kṛshodarâdi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamâdi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10) In the sense of पण्य we have: गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अश्ववाणिजः &c. गौ is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अश्व has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कृन् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजैः, उत्तमवाणिजैः ॥

मात्रोपशोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषूत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न ददाति याचितः, समुद्रमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किञ्चन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word समुद्र has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sūtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्यौडुषपज्ञं दुष्करणम् आपिशत्युपज्ञं गुरुलाघवं (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by षण् affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिनै), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याडि being formed by इञ् affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आर्द्वोपक्रमं प्रासादः, दर्शनीयोपक्रमम्, सुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दोपक्रमाणि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आर्द्व (तत्रैत्येनं ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + ध्व + क affix added with the force of घञ्, the ध being changed to ढ the word belonging to पृषोदरादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word दर्शनीय is formed by अनीयर् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicator र् (VI. 1. 217). The word सुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, 'as ईषुच्छायम्, in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, 'as ईषुच्छायम्,

धनुष्छायाम् ॥ The word **धनुस्** is derived from **दृष्** by **उ** affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as **नित्** (Un I. 9) the acute falls on **दृ** the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word **धनुस्** has also acute on the first by **Phit sūtra** II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—**दृष्णां छाया**; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have **कुड्यछाया** (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is **सुख** or **प्रिय**, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good'.

Thus **गमनसुखम्** 'the pleasure of going'. So also **वैचनसुखम्**, **व्याहरणसुखम्**, **गमनप्रियम्**, **वैचनप्रियम्**, **व्याहरणप्रियम्** ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by **ल्युट्** affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). The words **sukha** and **priya** have the sense of **हित** or 'well *good* 'beneficial', i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have **परमसुखम्**, **परमप्रियम्** ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रीतौ गम्यमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being **सुख** or **प्रिय**, in the sense of "agreeable to one, or desired".

Thus **ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसं** "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brāhmanas", **छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥** &c. The words **ब्राह्मण** and **छात्र** have acute on the final being formed by the affixes **अण्** and **ण** (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and **कन्या** has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have **राजसुखम्**, **राजप्रियम्** ॥

स्वं स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word **स्वामिन्** as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus **गौस्वामी**, **अश्वस्वामी**, **धनस्वामी** ॥ The accents of **गौ**, **अश्व** and **धन** have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14.. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have **परमस्वामी** ॥

पत्यावैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहपतिः, सेनापतिः, नरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by कृ (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sûdrâ".

न भू वाक्चिद्दिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषू इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृतिस्वरानि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषू, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debar the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by ब्युन् (Un. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sûtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains ब्युन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपातिसादित्यः ॥

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्सु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं तत्पुरुषइति वर्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वैचनशाङ्कं, व्याहरणाशङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनबाधम्, व्याहरणाबाधम् ॥ Similarly गमननेदीयो वर्तते, वैचननेदीयः व्याहरणनेदीयः = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेदीयः ॥ All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have लिट् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दउत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्व is the second member, and the sense is "this had been lately——".

Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः = आढ्यपूर्वः "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyāṁsakādi class. So also दर्शनीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमश्चासौ पूर्वश्चेति ॥ If it is analysed as परमो भूतपूर्वः then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second 'member is सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus मद्रसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also मद्रसनीडम्, मद्रसमर्यादम्, मद्रसवेशम् and मद्रसदेशम्. So also with गान्धारि and काश्मीरि ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्रसविधं = मद्राणां सामिप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते = समर्यादौ क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं = देवदत्तसमर्यादौ "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say सविध &c? Observe देवदत्तसमर्यादौ ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वराणि भवन्ति ॥

24. The words विस्पष्ट &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus विस्पष्टकटुकम्, विचित्रकटुकम् व्यक्तकटुकम्, विस्पष्टलवणम्, विचित्रलवणम्, व्यक्तलवणम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्पष्टं कटुकम् &c.

The words विस्पष्ट &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कटु &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhâraya.

The word विस्पष्ट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विचित्र is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विचिन्तः, which being a Bahuvrîhi has also first acute. The word व्यक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are संपन्नं, पैदु or कटु, पण्डितं, कुशलं, चपलं and निपुणं. Of these, the word संपन्नं has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; पैदु is formed by ड (Un I. 18), which being considered as नित् (Un I. 9), it has acute on the first. पण्डित is formed by क्त to the root पठ्, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (कुशान् लाति = कुशलः, ला आदाने, or Un I. 106), चपल being formed by a चित् affix (Un I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for चित् is understood in the Unadi sūtra Un. I. 111 from sūtra Un. I. 106. The word निपुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क् affix added to पुण् &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्पष्ट &c' Observe परमलवणम् उत्तमलवणम्, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः ॥

अज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अ ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति चोत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from अ (V. 3. 60), ज्य (V. 3. 61) अवम and कन् (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप ॥

Thus गैमनश्रेष्ठम्, or गैमनश्रेयः, वैचनज्येष्ठम् or वचनज्यायः; गैमनावमम्, वैचनावमम्, गैमनकनिष्ठम् or गमनकनीयः ॥ So also गैमनपापिष्ठम्, गैमनपापीयः ॥ All the first members are ल्युट् formed words and have लित् accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words अ, ज्य and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say “अ &c” ? Observe गमनशोभनम् ॥ Why do we say ‘a verbal Noun’? Observe गमनश्रेयः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते ऽनेन ‘a carriage’. Why do we say ‘a Karmadhâraya compound’? Observe गमनं श्रेयः = गमनश्रेयः ॥

कुमारश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhâraya compound.

Thus कुमारकुलटा, कुमारश्रमणा, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाम् with the affix भञ्च् of पचादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with श्रमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by श्रमण &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणप्रातिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् “whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed.” Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhâraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयइति वर्त्तते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारस्यादिरुशत्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhâraya compound of Kumâra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumâra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ The word udâtta is required to be read into the sūtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sūtra requires it, and the anuvritti of the ‘first member preserves its accent’ would be inappropriate because the word आदि is employed here.

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूगेषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूगा गणास्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामदिरुशत्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word पुग means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुमारचातकाः or कुमारचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकाः ॥ So also कुमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाः ॥ So also with कुमारबलाहकाः, कुमारजीवतकाः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix ज्य is added to them by V. 3. 112: which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word 'Kumâra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपक्षोक्त maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शरावेषु, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपदे कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (इक्), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव ॥

Thus पैञ्चारत्निः, दैशारत्निः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पञ्चारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting-affix नात्रच् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also पैञ्चमास्यः, दैशमास्यः = पञ्च मासान् भूतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix यच् (V. 1. 80—82). So also पैञ्चवर्षः, दैशवर्षः the affix षच् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also पैञ्चकपालः, दैशकपालः, पैञ्चभगालः, दैशभगालः, पैञ्चशरावः, दैशशरावः ॥ These are also Taddhitârtha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix भण् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पञ्चभिरथैः क्रीतः = पञ्चार्थैः, दशार्थैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमारत्निः, परमशरावम् ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in इक् vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus पैञ्चारत्न्यः or पैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim अस्तिद्वं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect:" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तादिषूत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapâla, bhagâla and śarâva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बह्वरतिः or बह्वरतिः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालः, बहुशरावः or बहुशरावः ॥ The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to वृ, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus पञ्चदिष्टिः or पञ्चदिष्टिः, पञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words diṣṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा चेत्सप्तमी कालात् भवति ॥

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व and बन्ध in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sâmkâśya and kâmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phit Sûtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निर्धनशुष्कः, ऊकशुष्कः ॥ The word निर्धन is derived by क्यु affix added to नि-धाञ् and has acute on the middle ; the word ऊक is formed from अक् root by the affix कक्, and has acute on the final. So also औष्ट्रपक्वः, कुम्भीपक्वः, कलशीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhî and Kalaśî are formed by डीप् affix and have acute on the final ; the word औष्ट्र is formed by ष्ट्र् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः चारकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and châraka being formed by ण्वल् has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्णसिद्धः, अपराह्णसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarred by Kṛit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and re-ordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि, प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयववाचिनि चोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayībhāva compound also).

Thus परित्रिगते वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिसौवीरम् परिसार्वसनि, परिपूर्वरात्रम् ॥ So also प्रतिपूर्वाह्णम्, प्रत्यपराह्णम्, प्रत्यपररात्रम्, उपपूर्वाह्णम्, उपापराह्णम्, उपपूर्वरात्रम्, उपापररात्रम् ॥ अपत्रिगते वृष्टो देवः, अपसौवीरम्, अपसार्वसेनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phit Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrīhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayībhāva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति ॥ In परिवनम् "all round the forest, but not in it", the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debars this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वन in a compound.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वोऽन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्तते तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

34. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in

the plural number, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vṛishṇi.

Thus श्वाफल्कचैत्रकाः, चैत्रकैरोधका, शिनिवासुदेवाः ॥ The words Śvâphalka and Chaitraka are formed by अण् affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word शिनि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe द्वैप्यहैमायनाः ॥ Here द्वैप्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix यञ् (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमेरपत्यं युवा ॥ These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of anointed kings and warriors (अभिषिक्तवंश्याः); these (Dvaipya and Haimâyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवासुदेवौ ॥ Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमारौ ॥ Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालाः ॥

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus एकादश, द्वादश, त्रयोदश or त्रयोदश ॥ The word एक is derived from इण् by कन् affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The त्रयस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word अन्तेवासी means 'a pupil' 'a boarding not a day scholar'. When the scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is आचार्योपसर्जनः or teacher-derived name. Thus आपिशलि-पाणिनीयाः, पाणिनीय-सैढीयाः, सैढीयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ The son of Apisāla is आपिशलि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an âchârya : formed by इञ् affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आपिशलम्, formed by adding अण् affix to आपिशलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apisālam are also called आपिशलाः the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apisāli will be also called Apisālâh. Thus in both ways Apisālâh is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word आचार्योपसर्जन qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and

not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not here पाणिनीय-देवदत्तौ where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छान्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तिकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तिकौजप, आदयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तिकौजपादया ये द्वन्द्वास्तेषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तिकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्तिकौजपौ (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (sâvarni is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by ङक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यश्मकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix ण्यान् by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrâj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पैलश्यापर्णेयाः (Paila is derived from Pîlâ the son of Pîlâ is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding णिञ् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyâparna belongs to Bidâdi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyâparnî, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyâparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलश्यापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिश्यापर्णेयाः (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यञ् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयाः (Śitikâksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikâksha by अण्, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pâñchâla's female descendant is Pâñchâlî, her yuvan descendant is Pâñchâleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतिकाक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवार्धुलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इञ् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalâ is Vârchaleya).

8. शकलशुनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śakalya, his pupils are Śakalâḥ by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śaunaka by अञ् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इञ् affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधात्रेयः ॥

9. शणकबाभ्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bâbhrava). 10. आर्चाभिमौदलाः (Archâvinâḥ are those who study the work produced by Rîchâva, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaṇvâdi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalâḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). 11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्राः. This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surâshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्राः as the last. 13. तण्डवतण्डाः (Both belong to Pachâdi class formed by भच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडने Bhvâdi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargâdi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः Here also यञ् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. आविमत्तकामवधाः or विद्धाः ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नञ् particle. Both the words lose इञ् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः The son of Babhru is Bâbhrava, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṅkāyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युताः Dānchyuta takes इञ् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः, Kaṭhâḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalâpin are Kâlâpâḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalâpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vârtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौथुमाः Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुमाः formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vârt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाक्षाः Those who study the work of Lokâksha are Laukâkshâḥ. Or the son of Lokâksha is Laukâkshi, the pupils of latter are Laukâkshâḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strî has accent on the final.

22. मौदपैप्पलादाः, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudâḥ. So also Paippalâdâḥ.

23. मौदपैप्पलादाः The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्तः = वत्स + जरत् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः, The pupils of Suśruta and Prithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जरामृत्यु, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yâjya is formed by ण्यत्, added to यज, the ज् is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तित् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvâkya is derived from anu + vach + ण्यत् ॥

महान् ब्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजावालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ महान्, ब्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जावाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्त्तते, इन्द्रइति निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्ण, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महौव्रीहिः, महौपराह्णः, महौगृष्टिः, महौष्वासः, महौजाबालः, महौभारः, महौभारतः, महौहैलिहिलः, महौरौरवः, महौप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhâraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो व्रीहिः = महद् व्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sūtra? Ans. That sūtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुल्लकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुल्लक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महोश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महौवैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुल्लकौवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुधं लाति = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udâtta on the final.

उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रः, सादि, वाम्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्योरुत्तरपदयोः प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushtra' retains its accent before 'sâdi' and 'vâmi'.

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by ष्ट affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृति स्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि सारथि इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'sâda', 'sâdi', and 'sârathi'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां सादयति = गोँसादः, गोः सादिः = गोँसादिः, and गोँसारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसादी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन्, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथे ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समा-सास्तेषां दासीभाराणां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्योर्गार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—'Kuru-gârhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Asûta-jaratî', 'Aślîla-dṛiḍha-rûpâ', 'Pâre-vaḍabâ', 'Taitila-kadrûḥ', 'Paṇ-ya-kambalaḥ' and 'Dâsî-bhâra &c'.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरुणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vārt :—So also वृजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः = रिक्तगुरुः or रिक्तगुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा = अश्लीलदृढरूपा ॥ Asûta and aslîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called श्लील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class. So also पारेवडबा, this is = पारेवडबेव ॥ This is a samâsa with the force of इव, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghṛitâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैतिलैकद्रूः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vārt :—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being formed by a kṛitya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kṛitya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dâsi bhârâdi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवैर्जुतिः, देवैर्सूतिः, देववीतिः, वैसुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix (Un I. 9 10). ओषधिः = ओषधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by घञ् has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माङ् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as डित् (Un IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by रक् affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तदर्थउत्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थं यत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामृश्यते ।

43. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus रथपदारु, कुण्डलहिरण्यम् ॥ The word रथ् has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Un III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Un I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रथपदारु, वल्लीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Valli has acute on the final formed by डीष् affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुवेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus मात्रे इदं = मात्रार्थम्, देवैर्तार्थम्, अतिथ्यर्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Unâdi sūtra (Un II. 95): देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle; अतिथि is formed by इथिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between तदर्थ and अर्थ is that the former, like वारु 'wood', हिरण्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptibility, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with तदर्थ and the other with अर्थ indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to अश्वघासः, अश्वसुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

क्तेच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ते, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तान्ते चोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus गोहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अश्वहितम्, गोरक्षितम्, अश्वरक्षितम्, तापसैरक्षितम् वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भोदीयते and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्ठा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे ऽनिष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus श्रेणि-कृताः, पूर्णकृताः, ऊर्णकृताः, निर्धनकृताः ॥ The word श्रेणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूग is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गृ (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊर्ण is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निर्धन has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhâraya compound? Observe श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेणिकृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhâ word?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कष्टश्रितः, त्रिशकलपतितः, ग्रामगतः ॥ Kṣhṭa has acute on the end, trīśakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīṇi śakalāni asya), and consequently acute on the first : grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to मस्, the final being replaced by आ (Un I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तारात्तिः, योजनात्तिः, because one has taken himself beyond kântâra and yojana.

Vart :—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached ; as सुखप्राप्तः, दुःखप्राप्तः सुखापन्नः, दुःखापन्नः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta', when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus अहिहतः or अहिहतः रुद्रहतः, वैजहतः, महाराजहतः, नखनिर्भिन्ना, दौत्रलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix इण् (Un IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first : Rudra is formed by रक् affix (Un II. 22) added to the causative रोदि ; Mahârâja is formed by the Samâsanta affix टच् ; nakha is formed by ख् affix added to नह् (Un V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrîhi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by अच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final : Dâtra is formed by दृन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ते कर्मणीति वर्तते । कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive signification, retains its accent.

Thus प्रकृतः, प्रहृतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धृतः, समुद्धृतः, समुद्राहतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उत् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दुरात् + अगतः (âgata being governed by this rule) we have दुरादागतः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धृतः = अभ्युद्धृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ॥ "A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्माणि is understood here also ; as, प्रकृतः कदं देवदत्तः ॥ This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारस्यै च तुशब्दवर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त्, which has an indicative त्, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रकर्ता (with त्वन्) प्रकर्तुम् (with तुमुन्), प्रकृतिः (with क्तिन्) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with त्"? Observe प्रज्जल्पाकः formed with the affix षाकन् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is नित्'? Observe प्रकर्ता formed by तृच् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इद्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त् on the Vartika कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिड्यम् ॥ Thus प्रलपिता, प्रलपितुम् ॥ Why do we say "but not before तु"? Observe आगन्तुः with the Uṇâdi affix तुन् ॥

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्, (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं युगपद्भवति ॥

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in तवै (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अन्वेतवै, परिस्तरितवै, परिपातवै, अभिचरितवै ॥ All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्गा आद्युदात्ता अभिवर्जम् ॥ This debars कृत् accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोच्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्र-कृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये वरतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च् when an affix having a च् follows.

Thus प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पैराङ्, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix च्'? Observe उदञ्चनः ॥ When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पैराचः and पैराचाः ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतावप्रत्यये ॥ The affix च् is like क्लिप् &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a च् affix.

Thus न्यङ्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The ञ् becomes svarita by VIII, 2. 4. So also अङ्ध्यङ्, अङ्ध्यञ्चौ, अङ्ध्यञ्चः, अङ्धीचः, अङ्धीचः, नीचः, नीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्येतत्पूर्वपरमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

54. The word ईषत् when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus ईषत्कडारः or ईषत्कडारैः, ईषत्पिङ्गलः or ईषत्पिङ्गलैः ॥ ईषत् has acute on the final. But in ईषद्भेदः &c, the Kṛit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of pratipadokta, those formed by ईषत् with non-Kṛit words under II. 2. 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, धने, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाचि पूर्वपरं धनशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus द्विसुवर्णधनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनैः ॥ This is a Karmadhāraya compound द्विसुवर्णो परिमाणमस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तदेव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधनः or द्विसुवर्णधनैः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe ग्रन्थधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe क्रांचनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमोऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः, अचिरः, उपसंपत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरापसंपत्तिर-
चिरोपश्लेषोऽभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word प्रथम when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमवैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणैः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अमच् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणैः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासेऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकठः or कतरकठैः, कतमकठः or कतमकठैः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sūtra, this sūtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥ पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासेऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word आर्य optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणैः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ण्यत् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणैः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya?' Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणैः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आर्य (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासेऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word राजन् retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus राजब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणः, राजकुमारः or राजकुमारः ॥ The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (Un I. 156). But राज्ञो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhāraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathāśankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent sūtra into which the anuvritti of राजन् runs and not of आय ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजेति वर्त्तते, अन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युत्तरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रत्येनस् ॥

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः or राज्ञः प्रत्येना ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When भाक्रोश is not meant we have, राजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनाः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाश्च = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

क्ते नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ते, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तान्तउत्तरपदे नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus नित्यप्रहसितः or नित्यप्रहसितः, सततप्रहसितः or सततप्रहसितः ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. नित्य is formed by त्यप् affix added to the upasarga नि (IV. 2. 104 Vârt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudâtta (III. 1. 4). The word सतत being formed by क्त affix with the force of भावः, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कर्मणि क्त, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe मुहुर्त्तप्रहसितः ॥ In the case of नित्यप्रहसितः &c the samâsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpuruṣa accent VI. 2, 2. this in its turn was set aside by क्त accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिल्पिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिल्पिनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus **ग्रामनापितः** or **ग्रामनापितैः**, **ग्रामकुलालः** or **ग्रामकुलालैः** ॥ The word **ग्राम** has acute on the first. Why do we say “ग्राम”? Observe **परमनापितैः** ॥ Why do we say ‘a śilpī a professional workman’? Observe **ग्रामरथ्या**; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्त्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word **राजन्** followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus **राजनापितः** or **राजनापितैः**, **राजकुलालः** or **राजकुलालैः** “A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even” &c. It may be either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say ‘राजन्’? Observe **परमनापितैः** ॥ Why do we say ‘when denoting praise’? Observe **राजनापितैः** ‘king’s barber’. Why do we say ‘a professional man’? Observe **राजहस्ती** ‘a royal elephant’.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase “the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute”, is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikāra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूर्वपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase ‘ādir udātta’ should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The very next sūtra illustrates it. That sūtra literally means “a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हरण”. To complete the sense we must supply the words “has acute on the first syllable”. Thus **स्तूपेशाणः**, **मुकुटे कार्षापणम्**, **यज्ञिकाश्वः**, **वैयाकरणहस्ती** ॥ The word **आदि** ‘the first syllable’ is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word **उदात्त** has longer stretch: it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमोहारिणौ धर्म्ये ऽहरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदं धर्म्यवाचिनि हरणशब्दादन्यास्मिन्नुत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

65. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the Receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting ‘what is lawful’, but not when it is हरण ॥

The word **हारिण्** means 'appropriates the dues or taxes': and **धर्म्यम्** means 'the due or tax which has been determined by the custom or usage, of the country, town, sect or family. that which one is lawfully entitled to get'. The word **धर्म्य** is formed by **यत्** under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: — **स्तूपे-शाणः**, **मुकुटे-कार्षापणम्**, **हैले-द्विपदिका**, **हैले-त्रिपदिका**, **द्वैषदि-माषकः** ॥ These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10. With the name of a due-receiver **हारी** we have the following:—**यज्ञिकाश्वः** 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also **वैद्याकरणहस्ती**, **मैतुलाश्वः**, **पितृव्यगवः** ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a **शाण** coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe **स्तम्बेरमैः**, **कर्मकरवर्द्धितकैः** **वर्द्धितको** नाम मूले स्थूलोऽग्रे सूक्ष्म ओदन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय दीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न त्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before **हरण**"? Observe **वाडबहरणम्** 'that which is given to a mare'. **हरण** is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word **हरण** is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a **हारी** denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus **वाडबहायः** has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाचिनि च समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word **युक्त** means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus **गोबल्लवः** 'a cowherd looking after cow': **अश्वबल्लवः**, **गोमणिन्दः**, **अश्वमणिन्दः**, **गोसंख्यः**, **अश्वसंख्यः** ॥ All these word **बल्लवः**, **मणिन्दः**, **संख्यः** &c mean **पालकः** 'the protector &c.

विभाषा ऽध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यक्षशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word **अध्यक्ष** follows.

Thus **गैवाध्यक्षः** or **गवाध्यक्षः** 'a superintendent of cows': **अश्वध्यक्षः** or **अश्वध्यक्षः** ॥

पापं च शिल्पिनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिल्पिनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽऽद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पापनापितः or पापनापितैः, पापकुलालः or पापकुलालैः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samâsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. I. 54, when it is an appositional compound ; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्यनापितः = पापनापितैः ॥

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, अन्तेवासि, माणव, ब्राह्मणेषु, क्षेपे, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिनि चोत्तरपदे माणवब्राह्मणयोश्च क्षेपवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तम् भवति ॥

69, The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before माणव and ब्राह्मण, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जंघावात्स्यः = यो जंघादानं दान्यहमिति वात्स्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र श्राद्धादौ वात्स्या-
नामेव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावात्स्यः सन् वात्स्याहमिति ब्रूते तन्नाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौश्रुतः 'a de-
scendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The com-
pounding takes place by the analogy of शाकपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मकृतयः (Brahmakrita
belongs to Subhrâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now
with scholar names. कुमारीदाक्षाः 'the pupils of Daksha for the sake of marriage
i. e. who study the work of Daksha or make themselves the pupils of Daksha
for the sake of girls'. कैम्यलचारायणीयाः, वृत्तरौढीयाः, and ओदनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिक्षामाणवः
= भिक्षालप्स्येहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ हासीब्राह्मणः, वृषली ब्राह्मणः, भयब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः
संपद्यते ॥ Compounding by II. I. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we
say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe हासीश्रोत्रियः ॥ Why do we say
'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दउत्तरपदे तदङ्गवाचीनि पूर्वपदान्याद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding मैरेय, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus गुडमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses',
मधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting
'an ingredient?' Observe परमैरेयः ॥ Why do we say "before मैरेय?" Observe
पुष्पासर्वः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्त्रं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषूत्तरपदेषु आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भिक्षावासः, भक्तकंसः, श्रौणाकंसः, भोजीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशशालयः (the word समाश=समशनं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रियः which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोविडालसिंहसैन्धवेपूपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, विडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवादिषूपमानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, विडाल, सिंह, and सैन्धव ॥

Thus धान्यगवः=धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyâghrâdi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हिरण्यगवः, भिक्षाविडालः, ब्राह्मणविडालः, तूणसिंहः, कौष्ठसिंहः, सक्तुसैन्धवः, पानसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparison"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

73. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable when the second member is a word ending in the affix अक, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus हन्तलेखकः, नखलेखकः, अवस्करशोधकः, रमणीयकारकः=हन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वल्, वुन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्त्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आद्युदात्तम्)
वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवर्त्तिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे ऽकप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus ईदालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शालभञ्जिका, तालभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ण्वल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by ण्वुच् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपदे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छत्रधारः, तूणीधारः, कैमण्डलुग्राहः, भृङ्गारधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चेरण् कृञो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तैन्तुवायः, तुन्त्रवायः, वैलवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावैः, शरलावैः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारैः, अयस्कारैः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे ऽकृञः पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तैन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वैलवायः 'the hill Vālavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as रथकारैः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतन्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तन्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो तन्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यवपालः ॥ The word तन्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तरे + तन्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c? Observe वत्सपालः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल'? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

णिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुष्पहारिन्, फलहारिन्, पैर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थ, प्रकृतौ, एव, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थं प्रकृतावेव णिनन्तउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened: शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus उष्ट्रक्रोशिन्, ध्वाङ्क्षराविन्, खरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृकवज्जिन्, वृकप्रेक्षिन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गर्दभोच्चारिन्, कोकिलभिव्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उत् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable *only then*, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थं प्रकृतौ उपमानं चानुपमानं चाद्युदात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजल्पिन्, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamâna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamâna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamâna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamâna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

81. The compounds युक्तारोहिन् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवज्जी, 5 आगतनर्ही, 6 आगतनन्ही, 7 आगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c must be preceded by युक्त, &c and युक्त &c followed by रोहिन् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहिन् though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्यायिन् ॥ 8 आगतमत्स्या or °त्स्य, 9 क्षीरहोता, 10 भगिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 ग्रामगोधुक्, 12 अश्वत्रिरात्रः, 13 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 14 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 15 शनपादः (गणपादः), 16 समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एकशितिपात् = एकःशितिःपादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi of three terms. The word एकशितिः is a Taddhitārtha Samāsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकशितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in शिति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विशितिपाद् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचनं शेषक निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahābhāṣya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पात्रेसमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवज्जी, 5 आगतनन्ही (आगतनर्ही), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमत्स्यः (आगतमत्स्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 भगिनीभर्ता, 10 ग्रामगोधुक्, 11 अश्वत्रिरात्रः, 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 व्युष्टिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (शनपादः), 15 एकशितिपात्, 16 पात्रेसमितादयश्च (पात्रेसमितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र, वटम्, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट इत्येतानि च जउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र or वट, and is followed by ज, the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुंटीजः, शैमीजः, काशजः, तुषजः, भ्राष्ट्रजः, वटजः. These are formed by the affix ड added to जन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बह्वचः (उदात्तम् जे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जउत्तरपदे बह्वचः पूर्वपदस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by ज, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसर्जः, मन्दुरजः, आमलक्रीजः, and वडवाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe रुधजानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति न चेन्ननिवसद्वाचिभवति ॥

84. Before ग्राम, the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मल्लग्रामः, वैणिग्ग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. देवग्रामः = देवस्वामिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe दाक्षिग्रामः 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिकग्रामः 'a village inhabited by Māhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus दाक्षिघोषः, दाक्षिकटः, दाक्षिपत्त्वलः, दाक्षिबदरी, दाक्षिवल्लभः, दाक्षिह्रदः, दाक्षिपिङ्गलः, दाक्षिपिशङ्गः, दाक्षिमाला, दाक्षिरक्षा, दाक्षिशाला, or (°रक्षः or °शालः), दाक्षिशिल्पी, दाक्ष्यश्वयः, दाक्षिशाल्मली, कुन्दतृणम्, आश्रममुनिः, दाक्षिपुंसा, दाक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वल्लभ (पत्त्वल), 4 ह्रद, 5 बदरी (बदर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिशङ्ग, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शाल्मली, 13 अश्वत्थ, 14 तृण, 15 शिल्पी, 16 मुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकूटः; पुंसा) ॥

छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छात्र्यादयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालायामुत्तरपदे छात्र्यादय आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐलिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 पेलि (ऐलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आदि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे ऽवृद्धमकक्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकक्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थशब्दउत्तरपदे कक्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्को &c, gets the acute on the first syllable before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus ईन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, ह्रदप्रस्थः, सुवणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in राक्षिप्रस्थः, माहिकप्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कप्रस्थः मघीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मग्री (मघी), 3 मकरी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धू), 5 शमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कडुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कूरल), 9 बदरी (बदर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थइति वर्त्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 स्नाक्षा, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महन्नवशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तच्चेदुदीचां न भवति ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus सुहृन्नगरम्, पुण्ड्रनगरम्, विराटनगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् काल्पीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णे द्रव्यच्ञ्यच् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, द्रव्यच्, ज्यच्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे द्व्यच् ज्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तिमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्म has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ईत्तार्मम्, गुप्तार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वीयसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)?' Observe बृहर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

न भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकञ्जलम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्म, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz: भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्मन् and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अश्मार्मम्, मद्राश्मार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrâsmam) कञ्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vārt:—In the Vedas the words दिवोदास &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus दिवोदासाय गायत, वध्यश्वाय राशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an adhikāra aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वं गुणकात्स्न्ये ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कात्स्न्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकात्स्न्ये वर्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, सर्वमहान् ॥ Why do we say सर्व? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred: but the accent is not on the final of परम ॥ Why do we say 'attributive word'? Observe सर्वसौवर्णः, 'golden', सर्वरजतः 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकात्स्न्य here at all, but a विकारकात्स्न्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kârtsnya or complete pervasion'. Observe सर्वेषां श्वेततरः=सर्वश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kârtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇī", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वेषां श्वेततरः=सर्वश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11.? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vārtika गुणात्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, तरलोपश्च ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before गिरि and निकाय has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus भञ्जनैर्गिरिः, भञ्जनैर्गिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिण्डिनिकायः, मौण्डिनिकायः, चिखिलिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

कुमार्या वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्यामुत्तरपदे वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. जरत्कुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by डीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans*; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके ऽकेवले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदकशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोदकम् or गुडोदकम्, तिलोदकम् or तिलोदकम् ॥ When we have already made the उ and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुडा and तिला and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अर्कवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As शीतोदकम्, उष्णोदकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गत्रिरात्रः, चारकत्रिरात्रः, कुसुमविर्जसमरात्रः = गर्गाणां त्रिरात्रः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रः (रात्रिमातिक्रान्त इति प्राक्समासः) which being formed by the Samasânta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe वित्वसमरात्रः = वित्वशतस्य वित्वहोमस्य वा समरात्रः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरपदे नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

98. Before the word सभा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालसभम्, पशुपालसभम्, ह्यसभम्, दससभम्, गोविडालसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा, ब्राह्मणसभा ॥ The word सभा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयसभं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे प्राचां देशे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

99. Before the word पुर, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus ललाटपुरम्, कांचापुरम्, शिवदत्तपुरम्, कार्णिपुरम्, नर्मपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्ट, गौड, पूर्वे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्येवं पूर्वे समासे पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पूर्व in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टश्रितपुरम्, गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपदे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मार्देय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, 99. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् ॥ The son of वृदु is मार्देय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Śubhrādi class. The उ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलशब्द उत्तरपदे अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word बिल ॥

Thus कुसूलैबिलम्, कूपैबिलम्, कुम्भैबिलम्, शालैबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्व-बिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलस्वामी ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामजनपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशामी, अपरैषुकामशामी or पूर्वै and अपरै (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वैकृष्णवृत्तिका, अपरैकृष्णवृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वैपञ्चालाः, अपरैपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadhâraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वाधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वयायातम्, पूर्वाधिरामकम्, अपरैयायातम् ॥ So also पूर्वैचानराटम्, अपरै चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायातम् should also be included. The word आधिरामम् is derived from अधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्ते-वासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिवाचिषूत्तरपदे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपरंपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृत्स्नाः, अपरंकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्याधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तद्व्युत्तरपदे सर्वशब्दोदिक्रसब्दाश्चान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having अ, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being सु, सर्व and अर्ध ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapāda, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरंपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by वृद्धि affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञः, विश्वमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्वदेवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe विश्वदेवा अस्य = विश्वदेवः ॥ But विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix व्वन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयज्ञः, and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलमित्रः, कुलाजिनः ॥ But in विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.

उदराश्वेषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

107. The first member in a Bahuvrîhi, before the words उदर, अश्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृक्रोरः, दोमोरः, हर्यश्वः, यौवनोश्वः, सुवर्णपुङ्खेषुः and महेषुः ॥ This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक्र has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word दोम is formed by मनिन् affix (Un IV. 145) and is first acute; हरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Un IV. 118). The word यौवन if considered as an underived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from युवन् with the affix अण् then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrîhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrîhi compound सुवर्णपुङ्खाः has acute on णं by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrîhi with इषु gets accent on ख ॥ The word महत् is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदरादिषुत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अश्व and इषु in a Bahuvrîhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोरः, घटोरः, कटुकाश्वः, स्यान्दितोश्वः, अनिघातेषुः, चलाचलेषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrîhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even with out this sūtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यान्दित is formed by the Nisṭā affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघात being an avyayībhāva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुस्वरः and सुस्वरः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and सु are concerned.

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे बन्धुन्युत्तरपदे नद्यन्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrîhi compound having the word बन्धु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गर्गीबन्धुः, वात्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गर्गी and वात्सी are formed by adding ङीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गर्ग्य and वात्स्य ending in यञ् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra. Why do we say “a Nadi (Feminine in ई) word”? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Un IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “before बन्धु”? Observe गर्गीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्य-तरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तमुपसर्गपूर्वं पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, a Participle in क्त preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रधौतमुखः or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालितपादः or प्रक्षालितपादः ॥ When the word मुख means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable खः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र. which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say “a Nishṭhā”? Observe प्रसवकमुखः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained after प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say ‘preceded by a preposition’? Observe शुष्कमुखः which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरित्येतदधिकृतम् । यदित उर्द्ध्वमनुक्रान्तिष्याम उत्तरपदस्यादिरुदात्तो मवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

111. In the following sūtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase “the first syllable of the second member has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra aphorism and the word उत्तरपद exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च कर्णशब्दोत्तरपरमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्लकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have शार्ङ्गकर्णः शङ्खकर्णः, the lengthening of शङ्ख and शङ्कु takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कर्ण ? Observe श्वेनपादः, कूटशृङ्गः here श्वेन being formed by भच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by कृ (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनपादः where शोभन being formed by युच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुव्रीहिर्वर्तते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrîhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुञ्चिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोकर्णः, खरकर्णः denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा, जङ्घ, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ ग्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrîhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा and जङ्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparison खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठः, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुग्रीवः, नीलग्रीवः, वशग्रीवः ॥ Resemblance गोग्रीवः, अश्वग्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घ, तालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एणोजङ्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घ is in Neuter gender, and जङ्घा is shortened as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva. In the case of सुग्रीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on ग्री ॥

शृङ्गमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्ग, अवस्थायाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदमवस्थायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुव्रीहौ आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrîhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member शृङ्ग gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उद्गतशृङ्गः, द्व्यंगुलशृङ्गः, अंगुलशृङ्गः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—कण्ठशृङ्गः comparison: गोशृङ्गः, मेघशृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नङ् उत्तरे जरमरमित्रमृता बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अजरैः, अमरैः, अमित्रैः and अमृतैः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः ॥ Why do we say “जर &c”. Observe अशर्तुः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसो अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उषसी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोरुत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोषसीवर्ज्यित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrīhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उषस् has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुकर्मन्, सुधर्मन्, सुप्रथिमन्, सुपयस्, सुयशस्, सुस्रोतस् so also सुस्रैत् and सुध्वैत् from the root स्रस् and ध्वस् with the affix क्विप् ॥ The final स् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asiddha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ॥ Why do we say ‘after सु?’ Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयशस् ॥ Why do we say ‘ending in मन् and अस्?’ Observe सुराजन् and सुतक्षन् formed by the affix कनिन् (Un I. 156), and the accent is on श and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उषस्? Observe सुलोमैन् and सुषैस् (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनिनस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तर्विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति “whenever अन्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) represent these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning”. Therefore the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Un I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by मनिन् (Un IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिच् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशस् is formed by अशुन् (Un IV. 191), and so also स्रोतस् (Un IV. 202); but in सुध्वैत् (सुध्वस् from ध्वस् with the affix क्विप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मकैः, सुस्रोतैस् ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वादयः सोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ।

118. After सु in a Bahuvrîhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्तु &c.

Thus सुकैतुः, सुहंसीकः, सुप्रैर्णतिः, सुहैव्यः, सुभैगः, सुप्रैतीकः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्वयच्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं द्वयच्छन्दसि उभयपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे सौरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वस्वातिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here स्वस्वः and सुरथः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अश्व and रथ are formed by कृन् (Uṇ I. 151) and कथन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the निन् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुवाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here वाहु has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुगुरसत्, सुहिरण्यः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौच ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च शब्दौ सौरुत्तरौ बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

120. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्येस्वङ्ग्यस् (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यस्य पतयः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्य is formed by यन् affix and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to वीर्य ॥ The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is ādyudātta.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम्, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावसमासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

121. In an Avyayîbhâva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परित्तीरम्, उपत्तीरम्, परित्तूलम्, उपत्तूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपोक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुषमम्, विषमम्, निषमम् and दुषमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayîbhâva-

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विवगौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विवगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विवगौ समासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (द्वाभ्यां कंसाभ्यां क्रीतः the affix टिठन् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix ठक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अञ् V. 1. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपाय्यः, त्रिपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम्, क्षत्रियशालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe दृढशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrīhi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishṭhā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कथाशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिकन्थम्, आह्वरकन्थम्, चप्यकन्थम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशमः (शोभनः शमो यस्य) आह्वर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb ह्वृ and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have दाक्षिकन्था ॥

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिहणकन्यम्, मैडकन्यम्, मैडुकन्यम् ॥ The repetition of the word भारि in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिहण is derived from the root चिनोति with क्विप् which gives चित् and हन is formed by adding घञ् (III. 1. 134) to हन् ॥ चित् + हन = चिहण the elision of त् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, भार्याचेलम्, उपानतखेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) रथिकैडुकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उद्विधितकैडुकम्, भूतकाण्डम् (काण्डमिति शरनाम, तद्यथा सत्वपीडाकर मेवं भूतमपि) प्रजाकाण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रश्चेलमिव i. e. चेलवत् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56: the Vyaghrādi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुत्तरपदमुपमानवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीरम्, पटचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलल, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि मिश्रवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus गुडपललम्, घृतपललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशाकम्, मुद्गशाकम् = गुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्षाः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus राक्षिकूलम्, आह्निकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, वाण्डायनस्थली, माहकिस्थली, राक्षिकर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhâraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कुंचेलम्, कुराज्यम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमादीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhâraya Tatpurusha compound, the words वर्ग्य &c have acute on the first syllable.

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपक्ष्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपक्ष्यः ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are nowhere exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-division of विगारि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यत् affix.

पुत्रः पुंश्व्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुंश्व्यः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्देभ्य उत्तरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

132. The word पुत्र coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनदिपुत्रः, रामकपुत्रः, माहिषपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुत्र'? Observe कौनदिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वात्सीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजत्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, ऋत्विक्, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः दयालव्यः । ज्ञातयो मातृपितृसंबन्धिनो बान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दो नाद्युदात्तो भवति ।

133. The word पुत्र has not acute on the first syllable, when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher', राजा 'prince, king', ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as श्याला 'brother-in-law' &c: ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रैः, उपाध्यायपुत्रैः, शाकटायनकपुत्रैः, राजपुत्रैः, ईश्वरपुत्रैः, नन्दपुत्रैः, ऋत्विक्पुत्रैः, याजकपुत्रैः, होतृपुत्रैः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रैः, संबन्धिपुत्रैः, श्यालकपुत्रैः, ज्ञातिपुत्रैः, भ्रातृपुत्रैः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदाविरिति वर्तते तत्पुरुषइति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्तात्प्राणि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus मुद्गचूर्णम्, मसूरचूर्णम्, but मत्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being the ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिष, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 दलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चकन (चकन चक्वन), 12 चोल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी दाहे (Div 50) with the affix क्त; करिव and करिष are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क (कैरिणवाति=करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक with the affix हनल् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक् with अटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शकट; this with अण् (तद्वहति) gives शाकट; द्राक् क्षरति=द्राक्षा (Prishodarâdi); हुस् (शब्दे) with क्त gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix क्विप् added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुनोति कुत्सितं वा दुनोति) the augment मुन् being added to कु ॥ कुन्दुं मिमीते=कुन्दुमः ॥ दल with the affix कपन् gives दलपः, चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added ङीष्; चकन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication, चोलस्यापत्यं=चोलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिषष्ठ्या आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पल्ल, सूप, शाक and कूल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126-129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As दर्भकाण्डम्, शरकाण्डम्; दर्भचीरम्, कुशचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples चीर is not used as a comparison, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपल्लम्, मूलकशाकम्, मुद्गसूपः ॥ Here पल्ल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकूलम्, समुद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूयः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देन कुण्डसादृश्येन वने वर्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपदं वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus दर्भकुण्डम्, शरकुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe वृत्कुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kunḍa. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुदाय, i. e. शरवणसमुदायः = शरकुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकणालम्, कुम्भीनिर्गालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्नित्याबह्वज् बहुव्रीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अबह्वज्, बहुव्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेरुत्तरपदं नित्ये यदबह्वज् अभसच्छब्दवर्जितं बहुव्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrîhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus शित्तिपादः, शित्त्यंसः, शित्त्यौष्ठः ॥ The word पदः belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः and औष्ठः being formed by सन् (Uṇ V. 21) and यन् (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'after शित्ति'? Observe दर्शनीयपादः which being formed by the affix अनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe शित्तिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुद, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शित्तिककुदः, hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word शित्ति has acute on the first syllable, by Phiṭ II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'abahvach or not many-syllable'? Observe शित्तिललाटः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi? Observe शित्तेः पादः = शित्तिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भसत्'? Observe शित्तिभसत् ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषइति वर्त्तते न बहुव्रीहिविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच्च कृदन्तमुत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpuruṣa, a word ending in a Kṛit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kâraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रकौरकः, प्रकौरणम्, प्रहौरकः, प्रहौरणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kâraka-word we have :—इध्मव्रश्चनः, पलाशशान्तनः, इमश्रुकल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—ईषत्कैरः, दुष्कैरः, सुकैरः ॥ All these are formed by लिट् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word व्रश्चन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रवृ-ञ्च्यते येन); so also with शान्तन (पलाशानि शात्यन्ते येन स दण्डः); so also with कल्पन (इमश्रु कल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kâraka, or an Upapada word?" Observe देवदत्तस्यकारकः = देवदत्तकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kâraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा षष्ठी denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness; for a gati, karaka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a kṛit-formed word, if there is to be a samasa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhātu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samâsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with *tiñanta* words. So that without employing कृत् in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचतितराम्, प्रपचतितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पचतितर and पचतितम ending in तरप् and तमप् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सतिशिष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रपचति देश्यः, or प्रपचति देशीयं (V. 3. 67), or प्रपचतिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, वनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्योति वर्तते । वनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वनस्पतिः, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुद् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word बृहन् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) शचीपतिः (Sachî being formed by डीष्), some make Sachî acute on the first शचीपतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनूनपात् (tanû being formed by ऊ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napât = na pâti or na palayati with क्तिप् and has acute on the first). (5) नैराशंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Sañsa is formed by घञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शुनः शेषः = शुन इव शेषोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vârt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शण्डामैकौ both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by घञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावरूची ॥ Trishṇa has acute on the first, वरूची has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बोविश्ववयसौ ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) नैर्मृत्युः ॥ मर् is formed by विच् affix and मृत्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus **इन्द्रासौमौ**, **इन्द्रावरुणौ**, **इन्द्राबृहस्पतौ** ॥ The word **इन्द्र** has acute on the first (by nipatana), **सौम** is formed by **मन्** (Un I. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), **वरुण** is formed by **वनन्** (Un III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. **बृहस्पति** has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and **Indra-Brihaspati** has three acutes. Why do we say "names of divinities"? Observe **लक्ष्म्यमोधौ** ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe **अग्निष्टोमः** ॥

नोत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिष्वर्जते देवताद्वन्द्वे नोभे शुभपक्षकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is **anudâtta**, with the exception of **पृथिवी**, **रुद्र**, **पूष**, and **मन्थिन्** ॥

Thus **इन्द्राग्नी**, **इन्द्रवायु**, the words **Agni** and **Vāyu** have acute on the final. The word **uttarapada** is repeated in the **sûtra**, in order that it should be qualified by the word '**anudâttâdau**', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "**anudattadau**" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of '**prthivi**' &c? Observe **द्यावापृथिव्यौ** or **द्व्या दव्या** has acute on the first, '**prthivi**' being formed by '**riish**', has acute on the final. **सौमारुद्रौ**, **Rudra** is formed by '**rak**' affix (Un II. 22.), and has acute on the final. **इन्द्रापूषणौ**, **Pûshan** has acute on the end. (Un I. 159) **सुक्रामन्थिनौ**, the words **Śukra** and **manthin** have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्याधिकारो यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

143. In the following **sûtrâs** up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next **sûtra**.

थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अच् अप् इत्र क् इत्येवमन्तानामुत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपशत्परेषामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in **थ**, **अथ**, **घञ्**, **क्त**, **अच्**, **अप्**, **इत्र** and **क्**, when preceded by a **Gati**, a **Kâraka** or an **Upapada** (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीयैः, अवस्यैः formed by कथन् affix (Un II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अथः—आवस्यैः, उपवस्यैः formed by अथन् affix (Un III. 116). घम्—प्रभेदैः, काष्ठभेदैः, रज्जुभेदैः ॥ क्तः—कृदागतैः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, आगत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विशुष्कैः आतपशुष्कैः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56) :—प्रक्षयः, प्रजयैः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवैः, प्रसवैः ॥ इत्र—प्रलवित्रैः, प्रसवित्रैः ॥ क—खरैर्वृषैः गोवृषैः = गां वर्षति, खरैः वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vārt) : प्रवृषैः, प्रहृषैः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष has acute on the first as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and अति being Kar-mapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् क्तः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, क्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतन्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

145. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुकृतम्, सुभुक्तम्, सुपतितम् ॥ With Upamāna words we have—वृकाद-
लुप्तम्, बाबालुप्तम्, सिंहविनर्दितम् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतम् भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपपदात् क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति आचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

146. The Participle in 'kta' has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Karaka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संभूतो रामायणः, उपहृतः शाकल्यः, परिजग्धैः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुषखाता नदी, कुशलखातम् नगरम्, हस्तिमृष्टितो भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe आदितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपश्लिष्ट*, 8 प्रश्लिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागवि (संहिताशब्दो यदा गौरवस्य संज्ञा तदात्तोदात्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदात्तोदात्त एव ॥)

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

प्रवृद्धादीनां च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनाम्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनां च क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रवृद्धाः सक्ताः, आकर्षेऽवहितः, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वारूढः, कविशस्तः ॥ It is an Akritigaṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान &c, though in the Ganapāṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान &c that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigaṇa we have पुनरुत्सृतं चासौरेवं, पुनर्निष्कृते रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुतासूजवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्ताः 4 आकर्षेऽवहितः, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वारूढः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकादुत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव, आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिनि वर्चते, क इति च। संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुत्तरयोरेव श्रुतयोरेव कान्तयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kâraka).

Thus देवा एनंदेयसुः = देवदत्तैः, विष्णुरेवं श्रूयाद् = विष्णुश्रुतैः ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and श्रुत"? Observe देवैर्पालितः (VI. 2. 48), which, though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even. So that where a Participle in क्त is preceded by a kâraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kâraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Śruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkâraka word. As संश्रुतैः, विश्रुतैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता = देवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Śruta after a kâraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवैर्दत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतो नरति देवैर्दत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः। इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासो वर्तते सत्र कान्तमुत्तरपद-मन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

149. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition'.

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, उन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगतिम्, विपन्नभुतम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव), then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तपुत्तरपदं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

150. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus ओदनभोजनं सुखम्, पयपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालेपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनः, शालयः, राजाच्छादनार्तिं वासांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन्"? Observe, हस्तहार्यमुदभित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe दन्तधार्वनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निदर्शनम्, अवलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain there original accent.

मनुक्तिव्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्, क्तिन्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तं क्तिन्त्रन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दश्चोपरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिन् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus वन्—रथवर्त्मन्, शक्रवर्त्मन् ॥ क्तिन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, आपिशालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—ब्रह्मयनव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम्, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन—राजासनम्, ब्राह्मणसनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम्, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ब्राह्मणयाजकः, क्षत्रिययाजकः, ब्राह्मणपूजकः, क्षत्रियपूजकः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, अश्वक्रीतः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रहर्तिः ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक 5 आपक स्नातक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उत्साहक (उत्साहक) 8 उद्भूतक, 9 हान्, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पोतृ, 14 हान्, 15 वर्तक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपश्मन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेशपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डैः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇādi affix यत् (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेशेन पुण्यं = वेशपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्परान्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषेनैम्, कार्षापणेनैम्, मासविकलेम्, कार्षापणविकलेम्, असिकलहैः, वाक्कलहैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sūtra means the word-form अर्थ, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above;—धान्येनार्थाः = धान्यार्थाः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥ By sūtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंघौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंघौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयेति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपश्मनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवत्यसंघौ गम्यमाने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus गुडमिश्राः, तिलमिश्राः, सर्पिमिश्राः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधानाः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्राः ॥ The employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word miśra is used, it includes miśra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say 'not denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा = ब्राह्मणैः सह सहित ऐकार्थ्यमापन्नः ॥ The word सन्धि here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brāhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम्, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम् इत्येवमर्था ये तद्धितास्तदन्तान्युत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्तमानास्तदन्त्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नञ्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकारणवैष्टिकिकं मुख्यम् = न कार्ण वैष्टिकिकं (कार्ण वैष्टिकाभ्यां संपादि) ॥ The affix is ङञ् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—अवृत्तौर्हिकः = न छैदि कः (छैदिमर्हति). The affix is ङक् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. 1. 5):—अवत्सीर्यः = न वत्सी यः ॥ The affix is छ V. 1. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101):—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is ङञ् (V. 1. 18) Why do we say 'after नञ्'? Observe गर्हभरथमर्हति = गर्हभरथिकः, विगर्हभरथिकः, where the negative वि is used and therefore the avyaya वि retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say 'negation of that attribute'? Observe गर्हभरथिकादन्यः = अगर्हभरथिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकारणवैष्टिकिकं मुख्यम् =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि मुखम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c'? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते=पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः=अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां वादुर्महति=कन्यावोढा, न वोढा=अवोढा ॥ Here कृष् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ यौ तद्धितावतदर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तस्योत्तरपदस्य नञो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयादन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ् negating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः=पाश्याः, न पाश्याः=अपाश्याः, So also अतृण्यः (IV. 2. 49); दन्तेषु भवं=दन्त्यम्, न दन्त्यम्=अदन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadārtha:—not useful for that'. Observe पार्थार्थमुदकम्=पाद्यम्, न पाद्यम्=अपाद्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अदेयम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise दन्त्यादन्त्यम्=अदन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as ड्य &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यम्=अवामदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्कावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायामुत्तरपदं नञः परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्, has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपचः=य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अज्यैः, अपठैः, अविक्षिपैः, अविलिखैः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो दीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A दीक्षित and a परिव्राजक do not cook their food, not because they are physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of their particular order they are prohibited from cooking.

आक्रोशे च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे च गम्यमानं नञ् उत्तरमच्यकान्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोऽयं जाल्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so'. Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook : and not his incapacity. So also अपठोऽयं जाल्मः, so also अविक्षिपैः, अविलिखैः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञः परमुत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by नञ्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तैः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अयज्ञदत्तैः, अविष्णुमित्रैः ॥

कृत्योकेषु चार्वादयश्च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक्, इष्णुच्, चार्वादयः, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक् इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताभावार्वादयश्च नञ् उत्तरेन्तोऽशचा भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kṛitya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक्, and इष्णुच्, and the words चारु &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kṛitya:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उक्:—अनाभासुकम्, अनपलाषुकम् ॥ इष्णुच्-अनलंकरिष्णुः, अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes खिष्णुच् also: अनाढ्यभविष्णुः, असु-भगभविष्णुः ॥ चारु &c:—अचारुः, असाधुः, अयौधिकः, अवदान्यः, अननङ्गमेजयः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान स्वरमाण, धीयमाण, रोचमान, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारैः, असदृशैः and अविकारसदृशैः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकैः ॥ अराजौ and अनर्हः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1 चारु. 2 साधु. 3 यौधाकि (यौधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय. 5 वदान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानस्वरमाणधियमाणक्रोयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृश व्यस्ते समस्ते (अविकार. असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाहोऽछन्वसि.

विभाषा तृन्नन्तीक्ष्णशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृन्नन्त अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नञ् उत्तरेषु विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix तृन्, and the words अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अकृत्ता or अकृत्ता; अन्न &c—अनन्नम् or अनन्नम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अतीक्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्भ्यः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, इदम्, एतद्, तद्भ्यः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे इदम् एतद् तदित्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्त्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतद् and तद्, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इदं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा = स इदमप्रथमः 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इदं द्वितीयः, इदं तृतीयः, एतत्प्रथमः, एतद्द्वितीयः, एतत्तृतीयः तत्प्रथमः, तद्द्वितीयः तत्तृतीयः ॥ Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrîhi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः = इदं प्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe यत्प्रथमः = यः प्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals'? Observe तानि बहून्यस्य = तद्वहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = त इदं प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् ॥ As इदं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrîhi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrîhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौ ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe वर्धनोयस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो विभाषा ऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋषिप्रतिषेधो मित्रे ॥

165. In a Bahuvrîhi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रः, ब्रह्ममित्रः, वृकमित्रः, कूलमित्रः, कृष्णमित्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रः, महामित्रः ॥

Var. :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106 ॥

व्यवायिनो ऽन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवधाता । तद्व्यवायिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus वस्त्रान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पदान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्योऽयस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुत्तरपदं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे अन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गौरमुखः, भद्रमुखः ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe दीर्घमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय, दिक्शब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे नान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—उच्चैर्मुखः, नीचैर्मुखः ॥ The words उच्चैः and नीचैः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्राङ्मुखः, प्रत्यङ्मुखः ॥ The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्यङ् is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c :—गोर्मुखः, महोर्मुखः, स्थूलोर्मुखः, मुष्टिर्मुखः, पृथुर्मुखः and वत्सोर्मुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrīhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

169, In a Bahuvrīhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:—सिद्धमुखः or सिद्धमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽनाच्छादनात् को ऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, कः, अकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश्च परं कान्तं कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्वर्जयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrîhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजग्धः, पलाण्डुभक्षितः, सुरापीतः ॥ कालः—मासजातः, संवत्सरजातः, व्यहजातः, व्यहजातः ॥ सुख &c.—सुखजातः, दुःखजातः, वृषजातः ॥ Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word"? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वैद्यच्छत्रः, वैसनच्छत्रः from the root वस् with the affixes छन् and ल्युट् respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डामितः, कुण्डप्रतिपन्नः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sūtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृष (वृष तोत्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 अस, 6 आस*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सोढ. 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपदे वा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrîhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus वृन्तजातः or वृन्तजातः, स्तनजातः or स्तनजातः, मासजातः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातः or संवत्सरजातः, सुखजातः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातः or दुःखजातः &c. The words वृन्त and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिष्ठवत्सरति शतृथान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वत्स, ति, शत् and थ are finally acute", as बहिष्ठः, संवत्सरः, सप्ततिः, त्रिंशत्, गूर्यम् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परमुत्तरपदं बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नञ् or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयवो^३ देशः, अत्रीहि^३, अमार्षः, सुयवः, सुत्रीहि^३, सुमार्षः ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound ; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samâsânta affixes. Thus अनृचः (formed by the samâsânta affix क् V. 4. 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपद are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samâsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sūtra. For had the present sūtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपद) preceded by नञ् and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीकः even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words अनृचः and बहुचः ॥ There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samâsa includes not only the simple samâsa, but one ending with a samâsânta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासात्तः समासस्यैवावयवा नोत्तरपदस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नञ् or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारी^३कोदेशः, अवृषली^३कः, अब्रह्मबन्धू^३कः, सुकुमारी^३कः, सुवृषली^३कः, सुब्रह्मबन्धू^३कः ॥

ह्रस्वान्ते ऽन्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो ऽन्तो यस्य तद्विदं ह्रस्वान्तमुत्तरपदं समासो वा, तत्रान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नञ् and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयवकोदेशः, अत्रीहिकः, अमार्षकः, सुयवकः, सुत्रीहिकः, सुमार्षकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कप् takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कप् ॥ This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कप्). Therefore, in अर्जकः and सुर्जकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyât-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूमि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुत्वे यो बहुशब्दो वर्तते तस्मान्नञइव स्वरो भवति । नञ्बुभ्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि तथा भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrîhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrîhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrîhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुयवौ देशः, बहुव्रीहिः, बहु-तिलैः the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुर्यवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुमाषकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैरः, बहुमैरः, बहुमित्रैः, बहुमृतैः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multeity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना भयम् (VI. 2. 1),

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः) वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयवाच्चिनोबहोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrîhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बहुक्षरं पत्रम्, बहुच्छन्मोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. 1). गुणादि is an Akrtigaṇa. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient"? As बहुगुणोद्भाषणः = अध्ययनश्रुतसंश्रारदयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्मोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपशु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपशु, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पशुर्वर्जितमन्तोदात्तं भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पशु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrîhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठैः, प्रोदरैः, प्रल्लादैः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयल्लादः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्वाहुः क्रोशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्वाहु is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पर्शु? Observe ईत्पर्शुः, विपर्शुः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनमित्येतदुत्तरपदसुपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवणे यष्टव्यम्, निर्वणे प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrīhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्शब्दादुत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वर्णो देशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्शब्दश्चोत्तरपदसुपसर्गादन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्रादि compound.

न निविश्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विश्याम्, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरोन्तश्शब्दो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent 'grave' is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरमभितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं चान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

182. After परि, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मण्डल, has acute on the final.

Thus परिकूलम्, परित्तीरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or प्रादि compound or an Avyayibhāva. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावोऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभावेन 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्, अस्वाङ्गम्, संज्ञायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादुत्तरपदमस्वाङ्गवाचि संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रकोष्ठम्, प्रगृह्यम्, प्रद्वारम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe ग्रहस्तम्, ग्रहपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीठम् ॥

निरुदकादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुदकादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निरुदकादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुदक &c, have acute on the final.
Thus निरुदकम्, निरुलपम्, निरुपलम् &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुलप 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मशक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निराजिन, 12 उरजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेष्टपादकेशकर्षा भाकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrīhi. If they be considered as avyayī bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कान्तः कालकान्, is a Prâdi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root तृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम् पाति = तरीपः; कुत्सित स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrīhi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पाद, कश and कर्ष have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपादः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेरुत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्रादि samāsa. If it is an Avyayī-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrīhi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखो शाला ॥

अपाञ्च ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपाञ्चोत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप् ॥

Thus अपमुखम्, अपमुखः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhāva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of अप only goes.

स्फिगपूतवीणाओध्वकुक्षिसीरिनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीण, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीरि नाम, नाम, च,

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् अध्वम् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तराणि सीरिनामानि नामशब्दभाषादुत्तराण्यन्तो-
रात्तानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वम्, कुक्षि, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by अप् ॥

Thus अपस्फिगम्, अपपूतम्, अपवीणम्, अपाञ्जः, अपाध्वम् (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apādhwa does not take the samāsanta affix अच् by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अच् is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samāsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनित्यम् समासान्तः), अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरिः, अपहलः, अपलाङ्गलम्, अपनाम ॥ These are प्रादि compounds or Bahuvrīhi or Avyayībhavas. Some of these viz. स्फिग, पूत and कुक्षिः will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrīhi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrīhi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After अधि, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिदन्तः = दन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योदन्तो जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. अधिकर्णः, अधिकेशः ॥ These are प्रादि samāsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe अधिकरणम् Here the acute is on क, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अप्रधान, कनीयसी, (अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरमप्रधानवाचि कनीयमान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After अनु, a word which is not the Principal, as well as कनीयस् has acute on the final.

The word अप्रधान means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुगतो ज्येष्ठम् = अनुज्येष्ठः, अनुमध्यमः ॥ These are प्रादि samāsa

In which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. अनुगतः कनीयान् = अनुकनीयान्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयस् is taken as प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sūtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अप्रधान"? Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = अनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दोऽन्वादिष्टवाची चानोरुत्तरोन्तावात्ता भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुष, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means 'of a secondary importance, inferior', or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned'. Thus अन्वादिष्टः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृत्पदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृत्पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृत्पदं पदशब्दश्चान्तोदात्तो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्जातुलोपइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix, and the word पद, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अत्यङ्कुशो नागः, अतिकुशोऽश्वः, अतिपर्शो शकृरी ॥ Why do we say 'non-kṛit-word and पद'? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Vart :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कम् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनो गार्ग्यः = अतिगार्ग्यः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारकम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down'.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता 'not making manifest'. Thus निमूलम्, न्यर्क्षम्, नितृणम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrīhi or prādisamāsa. In the case of their being Avyayībhāva, they would have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निवाक् = निहितवाक् as निवाग्वृषलः ; निवृण्डः = निहितवृण्डः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वादयः, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ।

193. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिराजौ ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samâsânta affix दच् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of दच् which is a चिन् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उष्ट्र, 5 खेटक (खेटक), 6 अजिर, 7 भार्ता, 8 श्रवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (भार्थपुर भार्थपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगयुः (Un I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Un I. 156), उष्ट्र by adding इन् to उष् 'to burn'. (Un IV. 162), खिद् + ण्वल् = खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Un I. 53) आ + द्रा + अङ् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ = भार्ता ॥ श्रु + ण्वुद् = श्रवण, कृत् + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Un III. 147) ऋध् + अच् (III. 1. 134) = अर्ध ; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha' ? Observe प्रतिगता अंशवोऽस्य = प्रत्यंशुरयमुष्ट्रः ॥

उपाद् द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाद्, द्व्यच् अजिनम्, अगौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्व्यजजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वजयित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः = उपदेवैः, उपेन्द्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपशेडैः, उपाजिनम् ॥ But not so in उपगौरैः, उपनैषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 रुध (रुद्ध) 10 कल्प, 11 पाव

Why "in a Tatpurusha" ? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परमुत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति अवक्षेपणे गम्यमाने ॥

195. After सु, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of सु which denotes praise.

Thus इह खल्विदानीं, सुस्यण्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितैः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु" ? Observe कुब्राह्मणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant' ? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु = सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छशब्दे तत्पुरुषे विभाषा अन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उत्क्रान्तः पुच्छांतं = उत्पुच्छः or उत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छमुदस्यति = उत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उदस्तं पुच्छमस्य = उत्पुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धं सु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पाद्, दत्, मूर्धं सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेषु पाद् दत् मूर्धन् इत्येतेष्वक्षरपदेषु यो बहुव्रीहिस्तत्र विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrīhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पादवस्य = द्विपात् or द्विपात्, त्रिपाद् or त्रिपाद्, द्विर्दन् or द्विर्दन्, त्रिर्दन् or त्रिर्दन्, द्विमूर्धं or द्विमूर्धं ॥ The word पाद् is पाद् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) दत् is the substitute of दन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्यी is here the Bahuvrīhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्धः, त्रिमूर्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि? Observe कर्त्त्योणमूर्धं here the first member is middle acute by Phit II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrīhi'? Observe द्वयोर्मूर्धं = द्विमूर्धं ॥

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सक्थम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सक्थमिति कृतसमासान्तः सक्थिशब्दोत्र गृह्यते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सक्थ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क् ॥

The word सक्थ is the samāsanta form of सक्थि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसक्थः or गौरसक्थः, श्लक्ष्णसक्थः or श्लक्ष्णसक्थः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by कल् (Un III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्'? Observe चक्रसक्थः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by षच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिरुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।

पूर्वादिश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृद्धादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे द्विबोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सक्य, as well as to any other word in general. Thus मञ्चिसक्यमालभेत्, but लोमससक्यः so also कशुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः ॥ In the non-Vedic literature these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be : "In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules".

As to where the final of the second term takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika*—In the Veda, त्रिचक्र &c have acute on the final of the second term. As त्रिचक्रेण, त्रिबन्धुरेण, त्रिवृत्तारथेन, ॥ नियेन मुष्टिहस्त्या ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika*:—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विश्वोयुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika*:—In the Veda, the words द्विवेदास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As द्विवेदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

आम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगिति च उत्तरपदे इति च एतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽलुगुत्तरपदे-
त्येव तदेवितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase “the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound”.

The words अलुक् ‘there is no elision’, and उत्तरपदे “before the second member” are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly ; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI.4. 1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says “the affixes of the Ablative after ‘stoka’ &c”. The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. “the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound”. Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member”? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकवूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकादीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकाशगतः, अभ्याशाशगतः, वूराशगतः, विप्रकृष्टा-
शगतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prâtipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prâtipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोक्रान्मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vart :—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणादाय शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

ओजः सहोम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमसः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vart —अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vart :—The compounds पुंसानुजः and जनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ जनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = जनुषान्धः ॥ The word जनु is another name of जन्मम् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसाइत्ता, मनसायुप्ता, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोइत्ता, मनोयुप्ता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञातुं क्षीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः पूरणप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आत्मनापंचमः, आत्मनाषष्ठः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika तृतीयाविधानं प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vārt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पंचमः = आत्मनापंचमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in जनार्दनस्वात्मचतुर्थ एव? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥ The word पूरणे is a later addition of the Vārtikakāra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयाकरणस्याख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । यया संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्या-
मात्मन उत्तरस्याश्चतुर्थ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य च या चतुर्थी तस्या वैयाकरणाख्यायामलुग्भवति ॥

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम्, परस्मभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, सप्तम्याः, संज्ञा-
याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तादन्ताद्योत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्रद्दुभ्यां डेः ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus शुधिष्ठिरः, त्वचिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गविशुधिभ्यां स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्यतिलकाः, अरण्यभाषकाः, वनेकिंशुकाः, वनेहरिद्रकाः, वनेबल्लजकाः, पूर्वाह्णे-
स्फोटकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः ॥ Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or अ”? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe अक्षशौण्डः ॥

Vārt :—The Locative ending is not elided after ह्रद् and इत् ; as : ह्रदिस्पृक्, दिविस्पृक् ॥

कारनास्त्रि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनास्त्रि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूपेशाणः, दृषदिमाषकः, हलेद्विपदिका, हलेत्रिपदिका ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax? Observe अभ्यर्हितेषुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe द्यूषेषुः = द्यूषपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे हरणः = अविकटोरणः ॥ So also नद्यां रोहनी = नदीरोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्यादगुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या गुरावुत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरुः ॥

Vart:—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

अमूर्द्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्द्ध, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धमस्तकवर्जितात्स्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या अकामउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा, उदरेमणिः ॥ But मूर्धशिखः, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or म, as अंगुलिप्राणः, अङ्घ्राबलिः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति घञन्तो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे हलन्तादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः, चक्रेबन्धः or चक्रबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is घञ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As शुक्तिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत् पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृदन्तउत्तरपदे सप्तम्या बहुलमलुग्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्भेरमः, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मद्रघरः ॥

प्रावृद्शरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृद्, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां ज उत्तरपदे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृद्, शरत्, काल and दिव् when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः, शरदिजः, कालेजः, दिविजः ॥ This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या ज उत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः, शरेजः or शरजः, वरेजः or वरजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घसंज्ञके प्रत्यये कालशब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तर and तम are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाहु, तरे or पूर्वाहु, तरे, पूर्वाहु, तमे or पूर्वाहु, तमे ॥ कालः—पूर्वाहु, काले or पूर्वाहु, काले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाहु, तने or पूर्वाहु, तने ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुक्रतरे, शुक्रतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in पञ्चितरायाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तरादे स्तरन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word थ, अथ &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in थ affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim : उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्त ग्रहणम् ; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृद्य when the word लेख, and the affixes अत्, अण्, and लास follow". Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खशयः, ग्रामेवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाह्णशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vārt:—The Locative case-affix is retained after अण् when योनि, or the affix यत् or नतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अण् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धवध्नातिषु च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्, सिद्ध, वध्नातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इत्रन्ते सिद्धशब्दे वध्नातौ च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन्, सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पित्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चरकबन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule: बन्ध then is derived by भच् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपदे भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्यः, कूटस्यः, पर्वतस्यः ॥ But आखरेष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्याखरेष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् विक्पश्यद्भ्यो युक्तिवण्डहरेषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आमुष्यायणामुष्यपुत्रिकामुष्यकुलिकेति चालुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गुलेषु शुनः भसंज्ञायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ विवध शप्ते षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus चौरस्यकुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant? Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after विश् before वण्ड, and after पश्यन् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, विशावण्डः, पश्यतोहरः ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुष्यायणः, आमुष्यपुत्रिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ अमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes क् in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायणः, अमुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आमुष्यपुत्रिका formed by वृष् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥ The author of Siddhānta Kaumudī says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devānām-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāshya or the Kāśikā. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool'. The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshīt through Brahmanical spite.

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेष, पुच्छ and लाङ्गुल follow it :—शुनः शेषः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोलाङ्गुलः ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after विश् when शप् follows : as विश्वोशप्ते ॥

पुत्रे अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दोत्तरपदे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने अन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus शस्याः पुत्रः or शस्यपुत्रः, वृषस्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यश्चोत्तरस्याः षष्ठ्या अलुम्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in क् and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in क्"? Observe आचार्यपुत्रः, मातुलपुत्रः ॥ The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore, the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृगृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्ककारान्तेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषा ऽलुम्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in क् when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दुः पतिः or ननान्दपतिः ॥

आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्, ऋतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारान्तानां विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्यानङादेशो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short क् and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the क् of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोक्षातारौ, प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्तारौ मातापितरौ, याताननाम्बरौ ॥ The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of क् ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in क्'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्र is understood here, so that the क् of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though it does not end in क्. As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्यानङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devtās.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासोमौ, इन्द्राबृहस्पती, मित्रावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापति, शिववैश्वर्यौ ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायु or वाय्वग्नी ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरुणयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येतयोर्देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्ने रीकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नीषोमौ, अग्नीवरुणौ ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 82.

इहृद्धौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृद्धौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृद्धादुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्नेरीकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इहृद्धौ विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

28. The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vṛiddhi.

Thus आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule: आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI. 3. 26. Thus आग्निवारुणी-मनङ्गाहीमालभेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ आग्नीमरुतौ देवतास्य (IV. 2. 24), takes the Tad-dhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vṛiddhi. When both members do not take Vṛiddhi, the rule does not apply : as आग्नेन्द्रः (आग्न इन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vṛiddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows : as आग्नावैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विवित्येतस्य द्यावा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

29. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatâs.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, द्यावाभूमी ॥

दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्यादुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे दिवो दिवसित्ययमादेशो भवति चकाराद् द्यावा च ॥

30. For दिव् is also substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in स, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or a visarga or upadhmaniya when followed by पृथिवी ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. आवा चिरस्मै पृथिवी नमते ॥

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूयम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितराबुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितराविस्थुदीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारुद्धादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरु substitution of the क् of मातृ ॥ The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

पितरामातरा च छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातरा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding अरु to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39 : and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्बत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी, प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्यैव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रिया-विवर्जिते ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ्, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनुङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus दर्शनीयभार्यः (=दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य). Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix णा; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also हलक्षणचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe मामणि ब्राह्मणकुलं दृष्टिरस्य = मामणिदृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe खट्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खट्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानाधामाकृतौ"? Observe द्रोणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्रोण has not the same significance as द्रोणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi". Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (हमे) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमारात्रयः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samāsānta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिलादिप्राकृत्वसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तंसिलादिषु, आकृत्वसुचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यतः प्रभृति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुजिति प्रागितस्माद् ये प्रत्ययास्तेषु भाषितपुंस्कारनुङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवङ्गवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शसि बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ त्वतलोर्गुणवचनस्य पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ भस्याडे तद्धिते पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ उक्छसोश्च पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥

35. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ्, and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिङ् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः शालायाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, वस्यां = यत्र, यस्यां = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरद्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, देश्य, देशीयर् रूपप्, पाशप्, यम, याल, श and हिल् तित् तातिल् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c दर्शनीयतरा, दर्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, दर्शनीयकल्पा, दर्शनीयदेशीया, दर्शनीयरूपा, दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ कया प्रकृत्या = कथम्, यया प्रकृत्या = यथा, तस्यां वेलाया = तदा, तर्हि &c.

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्:—as बह्वीभ्यो रेहि = बहुशो रेहि; अल्पाभ्यो रेहि = अल्पशो रेहि ॥

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes त्व and तल् ॥ As पद्भ्या भावः = पदुत्वम् or पदुता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कब्ध्या भावः = कण्ठीत्वं or कठीता ॥

Vart: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ढ'? Observe द्यैनेयः, रौहिनेयः the masculine being द्येत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes उक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या भृतात्रा = भावत्काः, भवशीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङि परसो मानिनि च स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्कारनूङ् पुंवङ्गवति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यङ्, and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, द्यैनी—द्येतायते ॥ मानिन् :—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः " He esteems her as handsome ". दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः " She esteems her as handsome ". The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां =

दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यज्ञ-
दत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे बु तद्धितग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्विकाभार्यः, मद्विकाकल्पा, मद्विकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्विकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकाया धर्म्यं). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vārt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix बु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः, भेकभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means “young”; and भेकी means ‘action’.

संज्ञापूरण्योश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्यश्च स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । दत्तापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । दत्तायते । गुप्तायते । दत्तामानिनी । गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । दशमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । दशमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । दशमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । दशमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्धितस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्धितः स यदि रक्तेर्ये विकारे च न विहितः, तदन्तस्य स्त्रीशब्दस्य न पुंवद्भावो ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning ‘colored therewith’, and ‘made there of’.

Thus सौध्नीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, सौध्नीपाशा, माथुरीपाशा, सौध्नीयते, माथुरीयते, सौध्नीमानिनी and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say ‘which causes Vṛiddhi’? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vṛiddhi). Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with वण् (कर्मण्यण्) and डीप्). Why do we say when not meaning ‘colored there with’ or ‘made thereof’? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी वृहतिका यस्य = काषायवृहतिकः, लोहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईषा यस्य रथस्य = लौहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or झ् or क् &c which causes

Vridddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vridddhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाच्चेतो ऽमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो य ईकारस्तदन्तायाः स्त्रिया न पुंवङ्गवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus शीर्षकेशीभार्यः, शुक्लकेशीभार्यः, शीर्षकेशीपाशा, श्लक्ष्णकेशीपाशा, शीर्षकेशीयते, श्लक्ष्णकेशीयते, but पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and शीर्षकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sūtra.

जातेश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश्च स्त्रिया न पुंवङ्गवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कठीभार्यः, बह्वृचीभार्यः कठीपाशा, बह्वृचीपाशा, कठीयते, बह्वृचीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बह्वृचमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंवत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादनूनङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवङ्गवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुत्वादीनामण्डादिषु पुंवङ्गावो वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhâraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus रत्नवृन्दारिका, रत्नजातीया, रत्नदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vârt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याः पदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्याः क्षीरं = मृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काक-

शावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vart :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicator *ख*, or the affixes *तर* and *तम* &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम् = कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पद्धितरा, पद्धितमा, पद्धिरूपा, पद्धिकल्पा, पद्धिका, मृद्धिका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in *ऊ* ॥ The words इडविद्, दारद्, पृथ and उशिज are names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The *tadrâja* affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compound of इडविद् वृन्धारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, दारद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्धारिका, औशिजवृन्धारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलडब्रुवगोत्रमतहत्येषु ड्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत, हत, हत, ड्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् ब्रुव गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुष्कात्परो यो डीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes *तर*, *तम*, *रूप*, *कल्प*, before *चेल* (with the feminine in *ई*), *ब्रुव*, *गोत्र*, *मत* and *हत*, a word ending in the feminine affix *डी* becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; ब्रुवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to ब्रू, गुण and वच substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in *ई* (*डी*)? Observe दत्तातरा, गुप्तातरा ॥ Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य चार्षेषु परतो ह्रस्वो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अडी च या नदी ड्यन्त च यदेकाच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्रयाः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called *Nadî* (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants ? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (डी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबन्धुतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा or स्त्रीतरा, स्त्रितमा or स्त्रीतमा ॥

Vart: — Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्वीतरा formed by the Unâdi affix ई (Un III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नद्या घादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the घ &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus श्रेयसितरा or श्रेयसीतरा, or श्रेयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विदुत्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculinisation also when we get the forms श्रेयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from श्रेयस्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महत्वात्वे घासकराविशिष्टेषूपसंख्यानं पुंवङ्चनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गावि च युक्ते ऽष्टन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महादेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातीयः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhikarana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतश्रद्धमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart: — आ is substituted for the final of महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart: — आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं बाह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारादेशो भवति संख्यायापुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शतादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टम् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वावश, द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टावश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टम्? Observe पञ्चवश ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वे मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विंशः, त्रिंशः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य त्रयमित्ययमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रैमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिंशः which is a Bahuvrīhi, (II. 2. 25) द्व्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायापुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां अष्टन् त्रि इत्येतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयःपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयमादेशो भवति लेख यत् अण् लास इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखाति = हृद्वेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृदयम्, हृदयस्येदम् = हृदयम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृद्वेखः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपश-धिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्तमहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकप्यञ्जरोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, प्यञ्, रोगेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोक प्यञ् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमावेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix प्यञ् follows.

Thus हृद्वेखः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्दम् or सौहृदयम् ॥ Here प्यञ् is added as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII. 3. 19. So also हृद्वेखः or हृदय-रोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पत्, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पद् इत्ययमावेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by इण् from अज् and अत् (Un IV. 131), and irregularly अञ् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56 ; before this affix. So also पदगः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पादेनोपहतः ॥ पाद belongs to Vṛishādi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपदेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदोपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पदाजिः, पदातिः and पदगः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्प्रत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमावेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पद्भावे इके चरतावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to. ;

Thus पादौविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाद्यम् = पदार्थमुत्कृष्टम् ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart:—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10) by घञ् affix. The word पाद in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिन् हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य परित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्भिन्म, (= पादस्य शीतं) पद्काषिन् (= पादचारिणः) as in अथ पद्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्गतिः (पादाभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संबन्धिनः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः परित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्रीं शंसति = पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापिणं ददाति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा परित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्के चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पद्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पद्शब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart:—So also before निष्कः as पद्भिन्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विषये उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदे परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha', उदवाहः "a person named Uda-vahah." The well-known Patronymics from these are औदमेघिः and औदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vart:—उद is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोदः, नीलोदः, क्षीरोदः ॥

पेषवासवाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पेषं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद is substituted for उदक before पेषं, वास, वाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उद्वेषं पिनष्टि formed by णङ्ग by III. 4. 38; उद्वेषः = उद्वकश्चवासः, so also उद्वहः ॥ उद्वकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उद्वधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह् भाविर्यस्योत्तरपदस्य तदेकहलादिस्तिस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्यामुद्वकस्य उद्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उद्व is optionally substituted for उद्वक, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उद्वकुम्भः, or उद्वककुम्भः, उद्वपात्रम् or उद्वकपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उद्वकस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उद्वकपर्वतः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थौदनसक्तुविन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सक्तु विन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषूद्वकस्य उद्व इत्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद्व is optionally substituted for उद्वक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उद्वकेन मन्थः = उद्वमन्थ or उद्वकमन्थः । उद्वकेनौदन, उद्वौदनः or उद्वकोदनः । सक्तु । उद्वकेन सक्तुः, उद्वसक्तु or उद्वकसक्तुः । विन्दु । उद्वकस्य विन्दुः, उद्वविन्दुः or उद्वकविन्दुः । वज्र । उद्वकस्य वज्रः, उद्ववज्रः or उद्वकवज्रः । भार । उद्वकं विभर्तीति उद्वभारः or उद्वकभारः । हार । उद्वकं हरतीति, उद्वहारः or उद्वकहारः । वीवध । उद्वकस्य वीवध, उद्ववीवधः or उद्वकवीवधः । गाह । उद्वकं गाहति इति, उद्वगाहः or उद्वकगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्यः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्योत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याचार्थस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भूकुंसादीनामकारो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus मामणिपुत्रः or मामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्वापादः, मालापादः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वात्सीपुत्रः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned puṣārtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhâsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपानि &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vart:—It does not apply to Avyayîbhâva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुड्गीभूतम्, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart:—It does however apply to भ्रुकुंस &c, as भ्रुकुंसः, भ्रुकुटिः ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ्र &c as भ्रुकुंसः and भ्रुकुटिः

एक तद्धिते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्धिते, च, (ह्रस्वः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्धिते उत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या भागतं = एकरूप्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्या भावः = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुग्धम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculation, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

उचापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उचापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपन्तस्यावन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (डी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविशालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिरारा, प्रवर्विदा; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णम्रवा पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्रस्वः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रत्यये परतो उचापोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वं or अजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-
नाम्, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित तूल भारि इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु यथासंख्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted; in इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिन् ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचितम्, मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खिदन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनव्ययस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

66. A short is always substituted for the final of the first member, when the second member is a word formed by an affix having an indicative ख, but not when the first member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥ The augment मुम् does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But दोषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where दोषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खिदन्तः, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्नैष्यते ॥ For an Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhâtus.

अरुद्विषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतयोरजन्तानां च खिदन्तउत्तरपदे मुमागमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. मुम् is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of अरुस्, द्विषत्, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a खित् affix follows.

Thus अरुन्तुदः, द्विषन्तपः, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of अरुस् and the त् of द्विषत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस् &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say 'not an Indeclinable'? Observe दोषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अच् would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sūtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम् debar the shortening. So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच एकाचोऽप्रत्ययवच्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचः, एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खिदन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमागमो भवति अम्प्रत्ययवच्चद्वितीयैकवचनवच्च स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a खित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच्च एकाचोऽम्, अम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ Thus गांमन्यः, स्त्रीमन्यः, or स्त्रियंमन्यः, श्रियंमन्यः, भुवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अम्प्रत्ययवत्, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् As आ—गांमन्यः (VI. 1. 93); पूर्वसवर्ण as स्त्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—नरंमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as श्रियंमन्यः, भुवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्)? Observe त्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखाभुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As श्रियमात्मानं मन्यते ब्राह्मणकुलं = श्रियंमन्यम् or श्रिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंदर इत्येतौ निपात्येते ॥

69. वाचंयम and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं शरयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम and दार takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारशब्दउत्तरपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्भुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्सि कारे मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोर्भव्यायां मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पृणे मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्ये ऽनभ्याशस्य मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ गिले ऽगिलस्य मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णभद्रयोः करणे मुम् वक्तव्यः ॥ सुतोमराजभोजमेर्वित्ये तेभ्य उत्तरस्य दुहितृशब्दस्य पुत्त्रडादेशो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यंकारः = सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदंकारः ॥

Vārt :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुंकारः ॥

Vārt :—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भक्षंकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vārt :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुंभव्या ॥

Vārt :—Of लोक before पृण, e. g. लोकं पृणा ॥

Vârt :—Of अनभ्याश before इत्य as अनभ्याशमित्यः ॥

Vârt :—Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः ॥

Vârt :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vârt :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vârt :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रं करणं ॥

Vârt :—पुत्रङ् is optionally the substitute of दुहितृ when the words सूत, उग्र, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुत्री or सूतदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री or उग्रदुहिता, राजपुत्री or राजदुहिता, भोजपुत्री or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुत्री or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुत्र in the Sâran-garavâdi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुत्री ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुत्री ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते ज्ञे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य, पाते, ज्ञे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलइयेतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे ज्ञप्रत्यये समागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ज्ञ is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = इयेनपाता, तैलपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before ज्ञ? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृदन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा समागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by krt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमटः or रात्र्यटः ॥ This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. The augment is compulsory before a krt-affix having an indicative ल, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः, अवृषलः, असुरापः, असोमपः ॥

Vârt :—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जात्मः, अकरोषि त्वं जात्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुद्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मान्लुप्तनकारान्नञः नुडागमो भवति अजादावुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुद्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनञः, अनश्वः, अनुष्टुः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् “after such a नञ्”? Otherwise नुद् would have been the augment of नञ्, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sūtra would have read thus नुडाचे ॥ Adding नुद् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुद् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न् of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुद् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

नभ्राण्णपात्रवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र,
नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राद् नपात् नवेदाः नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नञ्
प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative ! नभ्राजते = नभ्राद्, formed by क्तिप् and नञ् composition. न पाति = नपात् formed by शट् affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ सत्सु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः ॥ न मुञ्चति = नमुचि, formed by क्ति affix (Uṇadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix. न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति एकशब्दस्यादुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विंशतिः = एकात्रविंशतिः, एकात्रविंशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विंशतिः and एकान् न विंशति by VIII. 4. 45.

नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगाः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विप्रये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साश्वत्थम्, सपलाशम्, साशिशपम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The word सह has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between स acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सपुत्रः, सभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayîbhâva, the samâsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सेष्टि, सपशुबन्धम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते ऽधिके च वर्तमानस्य सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

79. स is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of 'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work), or 'more'.

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम् = (मुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayîbhâva compounds by ° अन्त-वचने (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सद्गोणाखारी, समाषः कार्षापणः सकाकिणीको माषः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपाख्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये ऽनुपाख्ये सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साम्निः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सपिशाचा वात्या "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सराक्षसीका शाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshasas are not directly -perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासे ऽकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayîbhâva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्वाङ्गम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. I. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्यते । तदवयवस्य सहशब्दस्य वा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

82. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrîhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सच्छात्रः or सहच्छात्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहशब्दो भवति आशिषि विषये ऽगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हल ॥

Thus स्वस्ति देवताय सहपुत्राय, सहच्छात्राय, सहामात्याय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥ The phrase अगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sūtra, but has been added by the Kāśikā from a Vārtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्द्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्द्ध, प्रभृति, उदर्केषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन् प्रभृति उदर्क इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्द्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सयूथः, योनः सनूयः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भः formed by यन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥
ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन बन्धु इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु समा-
नस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवयाः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गम्यमाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ ब्रह्म means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sa-brahmchārī.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदरशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

दृक् दशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, दश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् दश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा७ ॥ दृक्षेः क्सप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes क्स् and क्तिन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60. Vārti:—which give as the forms दृक् and दृश ॥ Vārti:—So also before दृक्षः as सदृक्षः ॥ दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60. Vārtika. The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

इदं किमोरीशकी ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, की, (दृग्दशवतुषु) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इदं किम् इत्येतयोरीश की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशौ भवतो दृग्दशवतुषु ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इद्म् and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus इद्म्, ईदृशः and इयान्, कीदृक्, कीदृशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इयत् and का+इयत् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 : and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vart :—So also before दृक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (इग्दृशवतुषु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आकारादेशो भवति इग्दृशवतुषु ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus तादृक्, तादृशः, तावान्, यादृक्, यादृशः, यावान् ॥

Vart :—So also before दृक्ष, as तादृक्षः and यादृक्षः ॥

विष्वग्देवयोश्च देरद्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, टेः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च देरद्वीत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ छत्रिणि स्त्रियां बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च with the affix व follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वद्यङ्, This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + विवन् = अञ्च + O = अञ्च + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्च्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the विवन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वदि gives the above form. देवद्यङ्, तद्यङ्, यद्यङ् ॥ अद्रि and सद्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into ण् the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमञ्चाति, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vart*. The अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्वा is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चतावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when अञ्च followed, but when अञ्चाना ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim भातुमहणे तदादि विभिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृतं and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vart:—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in “विश्वाची च घृताची च” there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्दीची there is this substitution. कद्दीची is derived from किम् + भञ्च् = काद्दि + भञ्च् ॥ Then is added डीप् and then like भश्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समित्येतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौ व (भ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च् when no affix (or व affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यञ्चौ, सम्यञ्चः ॥

तिरस्स्तिर्यलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरस्, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (भ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । यदा ऽस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च् when no affix (or व affix) follows, provided that the भ of अञ्च् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यञ्चौ, तिर्यञ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here भ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) “where भ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सध्रिः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सध्रिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्यस्य सध्रिरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (भ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ।

95. सध्रि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no affix (or व affix).

Thus सध्यङ्, सध्यञ्चौ, सध्यञ्चः; and सध्रीचः, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्थयोऽछन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्थयोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्थ इत्येतयोः उत्तरपदयोः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद and स्थ follow.

Thus सधमादोद्युम्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा वृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, भर्वाग्निं सधमादो वृहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्व्यन्तरूपसर्गेभ्यो ऽप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्यामुपसर्गाच्चोत्तरस्यादित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्वे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्त्वमनवर्णादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्विपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vārt:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम द्वेयजनम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोर्देशो ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारादेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः, but अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अषष्ठी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, च्छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अषष्ठीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशि स् आशा आस्था आस्थित उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kārikā—दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।

षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेष्ट आशीरादिषु सप्तसु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यदाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्य ऊतिः = अन्यदूतिः, अन्यः कारकः = अन्यस्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्वारागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गृहादि class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental? Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दोत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुर्गागमो भवति ॥

100. **वुक्** is optionally the augment of **अन्य** when **अर्थ** follows.

As **अन्यदर्थः** or **अन्यार्थः** ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कदित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽजाशब्दोत्तरपदे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कञ्जावे प्राप्पुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. **कत्** is substituted for **कु** in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As **कवजः**, **कवधः**, **कदुष्टः**, **कदम्रम्** ॥ Why do we say in a 'Tatpurusha? Observe **कूटो राजा** ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe **कुब्राह्मणः**, **कुपुरुषः** ॥

Vart :—**कत्** is substituted before **वय**, as **कवयः** = **कुत्सितावयः** ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोश्चोत्तरपदयोः कोः कदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. **कद्** is substituted for **कु** before **रथ** and **वद** also.

Thus **कद्रथः**, **कद्वदः** ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दोत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कददेशो भवति ॥

103. **कत्** is substituted for **कु**, when **तृण** follows denoting a species.

As **कत्तृणा** नाम जातिः ॥ But **कुत्सितानि तृणानि** = **कुत्तृणानि** ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् अक्ष इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. **का** is the substitute of **कु**, before **पथिन्** and **अक्ष** ॥

Thus **कापथः** and **काक्षः** ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. **का** is the substitution for **कु**, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As **कामधुरम्**, **कालवणम्**, **काम्लम्** ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as **कोष्णम्** ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दोत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. **का** is optionally substituted for **कु**, when the word **पुरुष** follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईषत् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कवञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्णशब्दउत्तरपदे कौः कवञ्चित्ययमादेशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कवङ् are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

पथि चच्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कौः कव का इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कव for कु takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कवपथः, कापथः and कुपथः ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृषोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता दृश्यन्ते च तानि यथोपदिष्टानि साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रिक्शब्देभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वावे डस्वं च लभावञ्चोत्तरपदस्येभि प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ वषडस्वं वत्सशधासूत्तरपदस्येष्टुस्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ दुरोशशनाशवभध्येषूस्वं वक्तव्यमुत्तरपदस्येष्टुस्वम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरो रोहतौ छन्दस्युस्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीवोपवसनादीनां च लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā—वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।

धातोस्तर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषादर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्दानं यस्य = पृषोद्दानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वरिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहकः; जीवनस्य मृतः = जीमृतः, here वन has been elided; शवानां शयनं = श्मशानम्; here श्म replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ उर्द्ध्वमस्य = उर्ध्वलम्; here उर्ध्व replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥ ब्रुवन्तोस्यांसीदन्ति = बृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उद् in the locative, and ब्रुव is replaced by बृ ॥ मद्यां रौति = मयूरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of रू is elided before the affix भच् ॥ And so on with अभ्यस्य, कपिस्थ &c.

Vart:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart:—Before the Patronymic इष् affix, वाग्वाद् becomes वाङ्गाल as, वाग्वाद्-स्थापत्य = वाङ्गालिः ॥

Vart:—The final of वष् is changed to उ before वत्, वक्ष, and धा (meaning

'location') and the first letter of the second member is changed to उ or ङ ॥ Thus षड् दन्ता भस्य = षाडन्; so षोडश; षड्धा or षोढा कुरु ॥ The addition of उ is optional here. The putting of धासु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—षड् दधाति or धयाति = षड्धा ॥

Vart.—The final of दुर् is changed to उ, before दाश, नाश, दम्भ and ध्ये and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन दाम्भ्यते, नाशयते, दम्भ्यते यः = वूडाशः, वूणाशः, वूडभः, In the last (दम्भ) there is elision of the nasal also. दुष्ट ध्यायति = वूड्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada दुः, by III. I. 136.

Vart.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर when the verb रुह follows in the Vedas: as एहिस्व जायेस्वो रोहाय (रोहाय is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vart.—The final of पीवस्, पयस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वस-
नानां, पयोपवसनानाम् ॥

संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि,
साय, पूर्वस्य, अहस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवंपूर्वस्याहशब्दस्य स्थाने अहनित्ययमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय pre-
cedes it.

Thus द्वयोरद्वोर्भवः = द्व्यहः, त्र्यहः ॥ The Locative singular of these are द्व्यह्नि or द्व्यहनि, त्र्यह्नि or त्र्यहनि ॥ So also द्व्यह्ने, त्र्यह्ने ॥ With वि—व्यह्नि, व्यहनि or व्यह्ने; साय—सायाह्नि, सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकशेषसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने = मध्यमहः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

दूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो ऽणः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकारेफयोर्लोपो यस्मिन् स दूलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. When ढ् or र् is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus लीडम्, मीडम्, उपगूढम् ॥ रलोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अग्निर् रयः = अग्निरयः, इन्द्र रयः, पुना रक्तम् वासः, प्राता राजक्रयः ॥ For the elision of ढ see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र् see VIII. 3. 14. But आवृढम्, the ऋ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra अण् which is formed with the ण् of अ इ उ ण् ॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति दूलोपे ॥

112. When ढ् or र् are elided, there is the substi-
tution of ओ for the अ or आ of the verbs सह् and वह् ॥

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम्, षोढा, षोढुम् and षोढव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ? Observe ऊढः, ऊढवान् ॥ Why do we say अवर्णं which includes long आ also? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वह is changed to आ by Vṛiddhi: as उव्वोढाम्, उव्वोढम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अवर्णं then coming after the त् of भोत्, it would have denoted only short अ (तादृषि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साढ्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्यै साढ्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढ्यै, साढ्वा and साढा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समन्तान्, साढ्वा शत्रून् ॥ The latter is formed by ऋवा affix, the ओ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative ऋवा is changed to औ ॥ साढा is formed by ऋच् affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोढ्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्ययमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an uninterrupted flow of speech".

Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns". Thus विद्माहिस्वा सत्पति शूर गोनाम् The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विष्, हि, स्वा, सत्पति, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टापञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिनी दीर्घो भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चन् मणि भिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रव स्वस्तिक इत्येतान्वर्जयेत्वा ॥

115. Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not when the words are विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus दात्राकर्णः, द्विगुणाकर्णः, त्रिगुणाकर्णः, द्वाङ्गुलाकर्णः, अङ्गुलाकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark?

Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विट् &c'? Observe विट्कर्णः ॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिद्रकर्णः, स्रवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु कौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृति, वृषि, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि, तनिषु, कौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृति वृषि व्यधि रुचि सहि तनि इत्येतेषु क्विपत्ययान्तेषुत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवत्, उपावत्, (with vrt) प्रावत्, उपावत्, (with vrsh) मर्मावित्, हव्यावित्, धावित्, (with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक्, (with ruch) कृतीषद्, (with sah) तरीतद् (with tan). The nasal is elided after गम् before क्ति (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणहन्म् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिशुलकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्यथासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिधकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किशुलकागिरिः, अञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But असिपञ्चवनम् and कृष्णगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिधक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किशुलक (किशुलक), 2 शाल्व (शाल्वक), 3 नह*, 4 अञ्जन, 5 अञ्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कुक्कुट ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुत्साहभ्रातृपितृणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आसुतीवलः, कृषीवलः, वन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वलम् (V. 2. 112).

Vart.—Not so, of उत्साह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उत्साहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचो ऽनजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्व चः, अनजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतो बह्वचो ऽनजिरादिवर्जितस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मत् (IV. 2. 85) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खरिवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खरि, 3 पुलिन. 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवार्जितस्य वहउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपील्वारीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus कपीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शरुवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनुष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमनुष्येभिधेये बहुलं दीर्घो भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीक्रेदः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासादः and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसाहः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निपाशो मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य काशशब्दउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, वीकाशः, अनूकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

दस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य यस्तकारादिरादेशस्तस्मिन्परत इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

124. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा, when the latter is changed to त ॥

Thus नीत्तम्, वीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम् नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुदत्तम्, here द्द is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपदे संज्ञायां दीर्घो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावक्रः, अष्टावन्धुरः अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽष्टन उत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवि च युक्ते भाषायामष्टनो दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या रक्षिणा, अष्टापरी देवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापरी is the feminine in डीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपात् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद् being elided in a Bahuvrihi), पद् being substituted for पात् by VI. 4. 130.

Vārtt:—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागवं शकटम् ॥

चित्तेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्तेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चितिशब्दस्य कपि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचितीकः, द्विचितीकः, त्रिचितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वशब्दस्य वसु राडित्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्वावसुः, विश्वाराट् ॥ The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नरशब्दउत्तरपदे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvânara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋगौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपदे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvâmitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतेषां मतुप्प्रत्यये परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मतुप् follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्रथमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरपीपत्तु, नमः पृथिव्यै नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरेयमस्त्वौषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमश्रुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, घ, मश्रु, तङ्, कुत्र, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु घ मश्रु तङ् कु त्र उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तु, तु, घ, मधु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending त्र and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तू न इन्द्र वृत्रहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तू करणे ॥ घ :—उत वाघा स्यालात् ॥ मधुः—मधू गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ् :—रत जोतवेदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of था, when it is treated as क्तिन्, therefore it does not apply here, शृणोत आवाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; त्र—अत्रा गौः ; उरुष्या णोग्रेः ॥

इकः सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुञ् निपातो गृह्यते । इगन्तस्य सुञि परतो मन्त्रविषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in इ or उ are lengthened before the particle सु ॥

Thus अभी शु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) उर्ध्व ऊ पुण उत्तये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

द्व्यचोतस्तिङ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः, अतः, तिङ्, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचस्तिङन्तस्यात ऋग्विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्या हि त्वा सत्याति शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विद्या हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवत वाजिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वक्षि याक्षि च, as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋग्विषये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रयोगादनुगन्तव्यः ॥ यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तदनेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुनो दन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपदेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śishṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकांक्षि, कचाक्चि, जलासाद्, नारकः, पुरुषः ॥

Vart.—The final of श्वन् is lengthened before the following वन्त, दष्टा, कर्ण कुन्द्, वराह, पुच्छ, and पदः—as श्वावन्तः श्वादष्टः, श्वाकर्णः, श्वाकुन्द्ः, श्वावराहः, श्वापुच्छः, श्वापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥ चावित्यञ्चातिर्लुप्तनकाराकारो गृह्यते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus दधीचः पञ्च, दधीचा, दधीचे, मधूचः पञ्च, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In दधि+अच् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also दधी+अच् and मधू+अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. कारीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य=करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samâsânta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परत्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृदन्ता, विप्रतिषेधेयद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

ओम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोद्यमाऽऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as हूतः, जीतः, संवीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर् + वेञ् + क्त = निरुतम्, the vocalised vowel उ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पश्य, पामनां पश्य, as मि and न are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into ऐस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, वृक्षैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्ता, ओदनभिस्ता, the भिस् does not follow an aṅga. भिस्त means boiled rice and भिस्ता means दधिः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sūtra. For example, in the sūtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sūtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : *first*, sūtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सन् or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सन्, as विवीषति ; but not here दधि सनोति for इ of दधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasâraṇa, but not in निरुत &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्वं in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga, as ग्लेयात् or ग्लयात्, but not here निर्यायात् or निर्वायात्, for here र् is not part of the anga, and so र् cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तात् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतात्, but not here जीव तु त्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इयर्थम् and उवर्थम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of नुद् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी आभिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कस्मै स्पृहयति or कुमार्याः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for तत्त्व or त substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए into त् in the case of अप् before म ॥ It refers to anga, as अङ्गिः ॥ But not here अङ्गभारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारण दीर्घत्वैस्त्वतातार्ड्यङुवङुनुद् इस्त्व तत्त्वे च अङ्गस्येत्यधिकारे प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने योगः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prātipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sūtra may require. Thus in अतो भिस ऐस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् भिसः ऐस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानषष्ठी in sūtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the whole of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवषष्ठी in sūtras like ऊदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्त सम्बन्धः in युवोरनाकौ (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अङ्गस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, (अङ्गस्य सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्भलो यदुत्तरं सम्प्रसारणं तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, इ and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and सम्प्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्रा, जीनः from ज्या, संवीतः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वेच् ॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुतम्, here र is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore इ is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्धः, विचितः from व्यध् and व्यच्; here the vowel इ is in the *middle* of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here त्रि has been vocalised into तृ, ऋ being substituted for इ before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ऋ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini himself in sūtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sūtra, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामित्येतत्पृष्ठीबहुवचनम् आगतनुदकं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kārikā—नामि दीर्घ आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुत् भवेत् ।

वचनाद्यत्र तत्रास्ति, नोपधायाश्च चर्मणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुद्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कच्छूनाम्, हर्तृणाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अण् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment नुद् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of नुद् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of नुद्, there would be no occasion for नुद् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतसृ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिसृ, चतसृ, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ऋ of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact नुद् is added before scope is given to that rule, and thus the preceding rule VII. 1. 54 prevents the application of the subsequent rule VII. 2. 100.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिसृचतस्रोर्नामि परत उभयथा दृश्यते, दीर्घश्चादीर्घश्च ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृण मध्यंदिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि परयुभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As त्वं नृणां नृपते, and त्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्याङ्गस्योपधाया नामि परतो वीर्घो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चनृ + नाम् (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चानृ + नाम् (VI. 4. 7) = पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); समानाम्, नवानाम्, वृक्षानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in नृ'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्मणाम् where the affix is not नाम् but आम् without नृद् ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असंबुद्धौ (नोपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया वीर्घो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in नृ, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and नृ by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in strong cases'? Observe राजानि (Loc-Sing); सामानि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे राजन् ! हे तक्षन् !

वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ष, पूर्वस्व, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ वा वीर्घो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in नृ, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षाणं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋभुक्षाणं or ऋभुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षाणौ तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महतश्च तस्योपधाया वीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः, श्रेयांसि, पयांसि, यशांसि ॥ महत्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे श्रेयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्, तृन्, तृच्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नेष्टृ त्वष्टृ क्षत्तृ होतृ पोतृ प्रशास्त्रृ इत्येतेषां चाङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्त्रृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds ; as बह्नाम्पि तडागानि ॥ The Samâsânta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तत्र समासान्तो विधिरनित्य इति समासान्तो न क्रियते । नित्यमपि च नुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते । तृन् । कर्त्तारौ कर्तान् । वदितारौ जनापवाशान् । कर्त्तारः । तृच् । कर्त्तारौ कटस्य । कर्त्तारः । हर्त्तारौ भारस्य, हर्त्तारः । स्वसृ । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । नप्तृ । नप्ता । नप्तारौ । नप्तारः । नेष्टृ । नेष्टारौ । नेष्टारः । त्वष्टृ । त्वष्टारौ । त्वष्टारः । क्षत्तृ । क्षत्तारौ । क्षत्तारः । होतृ । होतारौ । होतारः । पोतृ । पोतारौ । पोतारः । प्रशास्त्रृ । प्रशास्तारौ । प्रशास्तारः । नञ्वादीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञा-शब्दानां दीर्घो ना भूदिति । पितरौ । पितरः । मातरौ । मातरः । असंबुद्धाविति किम् । हेकर्त्तः । हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as कृदि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction) ; if they be considered as derivative words formed by Unadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of niyama (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितरौ, पितरः, मातरौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अर् is substituted for कृ by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यम्णां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्तानामङ्गानां शौ परत उपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that "अन्, इन्, अस्, मन ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तं विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति", the employment of इन् in this sūtra includes and means "words ending in the syllable इन्" ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix *क्विप्* to the root *हन्*; and the affix *Kvip* is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words *पूषन्* and *अर्यमन्* are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix *ञि* in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words "when the stem ends in *हन्* &c."

Thus बहुदण्डीणि and बहुच्छत्रीणि । बहुवृत्रहाणि । बहुभ्रूणहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बहुअर्यमाणि ॥
सिद्धे सत्याम्भो नियमार्यः । इन्ह न्पूषार्यम्भामुपधायाः शार्वेव दीर्घो भवति नान्यत्र । दण्डिनौ । छत्रिणौ ।
वृत्रहणौ । पूषणौ । अर्यमणौ ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As दण्डिनौ, छत्रिणौ, वृत्रहणौ, पूषणौ, अर्यमणौ ॥

Kārikā :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about *हन्* &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to *सुट्* (*sarvanāmas thāna*) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix *ञि* in particular, (i. e., make a *yoga-bibhāga*). By so doing, the form *भ्रूणहनि* (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if *yoga-vibhaga* be not made) then I rule that the *anuvritti* of *सुट्* being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to *ञि* affix in general (without regarding it as a *Sarvanāmasthāna* affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of *हन्* is lengthened before the demonstrative affix *ञ* (in words like *वृत्रहायते = वृत्रहा इव भाषयत*, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the *anuvritti* of *सुट्* (*Sarvanamasthana*) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of *ञि* in this Sūtra, (would be redundant, because the word *Sarvanāmasthāna* includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of *Sarvanāmasthāna* does not apply. That is, the *Sarvanāmasthāna* will be restricted with regard to *हन्* &c to the affix *ञि* and not to *सुट्* affixes generally.

Note :—*ञि* is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It is a *Sarvanamasthana* by I. 1. 42. But the word *Sarvanamasthana* may be read into this sutra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing *ञि* in this? The above *karika* answers this.

In the case of *हन्* ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicative *क्* or *ङ्*, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (*ङि*) is *वृत्रहनि*, and *भ्रूणहनि* ॥ How do you make this? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being *हन् हन् पूषार्यम्भाम्*, and the second being *सौ* ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case सि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृत्रहायते, भूणहायते denominative verbs in क्यङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanāmasthâna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to सि considered a Sarvanāmasthâna or a Neuter affix सि is the Sarvanāmasthâna affix of the Neuter : which has no other Sarvanāmasthâna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanāmasthâna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नपुंसकस्य”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in सि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूणहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanāmasthâna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmasthâna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परत इह्ण्पूषार्यम्णा उपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus इण्डी, वृत्रहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे इण्डिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृत्रहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोरुपधायाः सावसंबुद्धौ परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

Thus भवान् (with डवतुप् Un. I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with क्तवतु); गोमान् and यवमान् (with मतुप्) ॥ The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the

vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. **अस्** :—as **सुपयाः**, **सुयशाः**, **सुश्रोताः** ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu'? Observe **पिण्डमः** where **स्** belongs to the root **ग्रस्** (**पिण्डं ग्रसते**), so also **चर्मवः** (**चर्म वस्ते**) ॥ The **अस्** having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever **अन्** or **इन्** or **अस्** or **मन्**, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. i. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (**अनिनस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति**) ॥ The word **अन्त** in the sūtra indicates whatever *ends* in **अतु** whether when first enunciated (**उपदेश**), such as **उवतु**, **क्तवतु** &c, or which assumes the form **अतु** in grammatical inflection, such as **मतुप्** which in *upadeśa* ends in **अतुप्**, but becomes **अतु** in *प्रयोग* or application. In Vocative singular we have **हे गोमन्**, **हे सुपयः** this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य क्झलोः क्ङिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, झलोः, क्ङिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया दीर्घो भवति क्त्रिप्रत्यये परतो झलारौ च क्ङिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix **कि**, and before an affix having an indicative **क्** or **ङ्**, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus **ग्रशान्** and **प्रवान्** from the roots **शम्** and **तम्** by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a **झल्** consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As **शान्तः** (with **क्त**), **शान्तवान्** (with **क्तवतु**), **शान्त्वा** (with **क्त्वा**), and **शान्तिः** (with **क्तिन्**). These are all formed with **क्तिन्** affixes. As to **ङिति** affixes we have **शंशान्तः** and **तन्तान्तः** formed by **तस्** 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots **शम्** and **तम्** ॥ **तस्** is **ङिति** by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe **ओदनपक्**, **पक्**, **पक्वान्** ॥ Why do we say 'before **क्वि** and **jhalâdi** affix'? Observe **गम्यते**, **रम्यते** ॥ Why do we say a **ङिति** or a **क्तिन्** affix? Observe **गन्ता** and **रन्ता** ॥

अञ्जनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि झलारौ परे वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिडादेशस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16, The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of **हन्** and **गम्**, when the Desiderative affix **सन्** being *jhalâdi* (i. e. not taking the augment **इट्**) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—**विशीर्षति**, **तुष्टुषति**, **चिकीर्षति**, **जिहीर्षति** (VII. 1. 100); of **हन्** and **गम्**, **जिघांसति**, and **अधिजिगांसते** ॥

Vārt :—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इङ् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वस्सो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58) ; In the Veda we read स्वर्गे लोकं समजिगांसन्, where though गम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इङ्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अच् should not be added in the sūtra at all : which should be read as इनगमां सनि meaning "There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows". This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way :—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ" ॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरङ्गस्य सनि झलादौ विभाषा दीर्घो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इद् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इद् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्ति ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्ति, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा दीर्घो भवति त्वाप्रत्यये झलादौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्ता, when it is without the augment इद् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्रान्त्वा ; but क्रमित्वा only, with इद् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप्, the rule does not apply : as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोऽप्यङ् बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supercedes even antaranga rule'.

चङ्छोः शूडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङ्छोः, शूट्, अनुनासिके, च, (किङ्क्षलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुक्स्य वकारस्य च स्थाने यथासंख्यं श ऊट् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकारौ प्रत्यये परमः क्वौ झलादौ च कङ्क्षितेः ॥

19. For चङ् (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श्, and for व is substituted ऊट्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्ति and jhalâdiङित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रमः, विमः from प्रच्छ and विच्छ, with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90) the चङ् being replaced by श ॥ Similarly from the root सिङ् we have स्योनः thus: सिङ् + न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्तू + न = स्योनः (VII. 3. 84). Here the ऊ is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would be सिङ् + न = सेङ् + न = से + ऊ + न ॥ Having thus added ऊ,

before scope could be given to the guṇa rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of सि+ऊ=स्यू, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guṇa, and the maxim of वार्णादाङ्ग बलीयो भवति has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the Argâdhikâra, and affects the anga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With किं we have शङ्खाश्च formed with क्तिप् (Uṇ II. 57) added to शङ्ख, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of अ, and ष्च changed to श. So also गोविश्च ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following :—अक्षयूः, हिरण्ययूः (दि+क्तिप्=दि+ऊ=यूः) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and दि+ऊ=यू, the change of इ into य is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga), there should be no change of इ into य, for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नाजानन्तर्ये बहिष्ठ प्रकल्पति: "A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asiddha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else".

So also before a jhalâdi affix; as प्रच्छ+क्त=पृष्टः, पृष्टवान् (क्तवतु), पृष्ट्वा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to श, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, दूतः, दूतवान्, दूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not डित् or कित्, the rule does not apply: as शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of कित् and डित् into this sūtra, and explain शुभ्याम् and शुभिः by VI. 1. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिव् ॥

In "छशां ष" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, श is ordained to come every where in the place of छ ॥

The indicator इ in ऊइ is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sūtras like एते धस्यूद् सु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाह ऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicator इ ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मवाम्, उपधायाः, च, (किङ्गलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर त्वर श्रिवि अव मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊडित्ययमादेशो भवति क्यौ परतो ऽनुनासिके झलादौ च कङिति ॥

20. In ज्वर, त्वर् श्रिव्, अव, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्वि, a Nasal or a jhalâdi 'कित्' or डित्) there is the single substitution of ऊइ for the व् and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus जूः, जूरौ, जूरः, जूर्तिः ॥ त्वरः—तूः, तूरौ, तूरः, तूर्तिः ॥ श्रिविः—श्रूः, श्रूवौ, श्रूवः, श्रूतः
श्रूतवान्, श्रूतिः ॥ अवः—ऊः, उवौ, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मवः—मूः, मुवौ, मुवः, मूतः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ ऊवत्त्वरौ
रूपधा वकारात् परा, श्रिव्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ऊवर् and त्वर् the ऊ replaces व् as well as the अ which follows व्; and in श्रिव्, अव् and मव् it replaces the व् and the vowel इ and अ which precede व् ॥
Another reading is सिव् ॥

राह्योपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किञ्चलोः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोश्छोर्लोपो भवति क्वौ परतो झलौ क्ङिति च परतः ॥

21. After र् there is the elision of छ् and व् before
'कि' and jhalâdi 'कित्' and 'ङित्' affixes.

Thus from मुर्छा—मूर्, मूरौ, मूरः, मूर्तः मूर्तवान्, मूर्तिः, the त् of Nishthâ is not
changed into न् by VII. 2. 57. So also from हुर्छा we have हूर्, हूरौ, हूरः, हूर्णः, हूर्ण-
वान्, हूर्तिः ॥ So also the व् is elided, as from तूर्वीः—तूर्, तूरौ, तूरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्तिः ॥
धूर्वीः—धूर्, धूरौ, धूरः, धूर्णः, धूर्णवान्, धूर्तिः ॥

असिद्धवदत्राऽऽ भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारो यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवदेदित्ययम् ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ बुग्युटावुवङ्यणोः सिद्धौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by
the application of any of the rules from this sūtra upto VI. 4.
129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have
to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikâra rule. The above translation is given according to
Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of
the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from
this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends
with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When
that (i. e. one of the âbhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the
same place for coming into operation as another âbhiya, which has already
taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having
taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to अ' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last
sūtra the word अ occurs : i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129.
The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same आश्रय or place of
operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to
each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take
effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'âdeśa' or substitution
taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in apply-
ing the special rule. Thus in forming एधि and शाधि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119 : and शा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is धि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that धि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of झल् class. Now अस् and शास् end in a *jhal* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take धि ॥ The present rule helps us here, and for the application of धि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or शा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आगहि (Vedic Imperative, शप् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जहि from गम् and हन्, the nasal being elided in the case of गम्, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हन् (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of हि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of हि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by ābhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाजि and रागः from भञ्ज् and रञ्ज् ॥ Here the nasals of rañj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes वम् and चिण् respectively, and we have the stems रञ्, and भञ् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अत्र in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा + वस् (क्वसु) + अस् (शस् Acc. Pl.) = पवा + उस् + अस् (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of व). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पपुषः in पपुषः पश्य ॥ Similarly चि + वस् + अस् = चिचि + उस् + अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिच्युषः पश्य ॥ Similarly लू + वस् + अस् = लूलुषः ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasāraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आश्रय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरेङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sūtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sūtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vārt:—The substitute बुक् (VI. 4. 88), and युद् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवङ् and VI. 4. 82, teaching य् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with बुक्, and उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयाते, उपदिशीयरे with युद् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of भू, when बुक् is added, there is not the addition of उवङ्, and in the case of शीङ्, when युद् is added, there is not यणादेश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by भ ॥

आन्त्रलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति अमयसुत्सृष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत् उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa अम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and भनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to anoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज् + अम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज् + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ् + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after अ' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory ङ? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यत्नानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यत्न, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विमानाम् and प्रमानाम् (formed by विअ + नाम् and प्रअ + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after अ of विअ ॥ For the अ of the sūtra is the *technical* अ the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters ङ and न ॥ The prati-padokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपक्षेक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षेक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनदितां नेलोप लङ्गिकम्प्योरुपतापशरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रञ्जेर्णौ मृगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चिनुणि च रञ्जरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रजकरजनरजः सूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

Thus from स्रन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed स्रस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्त, स्रस्यते, ध्वस्यते with यक्, सनीस्रस्यते, रनीध्वस्यते with यङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्यते and नानन्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as ढुणहि संमृद्धौ, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, ननीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe नह्यते, नानह्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or ङ? Observe संसनं, ध्वंसनं with ल्युट् ॥

Vart :—The roots लङ्ग (लङ्गि) and कम्प् (कापे) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an indicatory ङ, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिङित् : thus विलङ्गितः and विकम्पितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्कितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vart :—The causative of the root रञ्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रजयति मृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vart :—रञ्ज loses its nasal before the affix घिनुण्, as रागी ॥

Vart :—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रञ्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज स्वञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, संज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikaraṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सजति and परिव्वजते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जेश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जैः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जेश्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज is also elided before शप् ॥

As रजति, रजतः, रजन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛiti of rañj only runs and not of dañs &c.

घञि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञि परतो रञ्जैरुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रागः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आश्चर्यो रागः, विचित्र रागः denote भाव, while रज्यतेऽनेनिति रागः denotes instrument. The घञ् is added by III. 3. 121; and च् changed to क् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रजन्ति तस्मिन् 'a theatre;

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे ऽभिधेये स्यद इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यन्वेर्नलोपो वृद्धपभावश्च ॥

28. The word स्यद is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from *स्यन्द्*, the nasal is elided, and the Vṛiddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the *ârdhadhâtuka* affix *घञ्* causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of *न्* of *स्यन्द्*, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, only in case of *इक्* vowels, here the Vṛiddhi is prevented with regard to *अ* ॥ The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus *गोस्यद्* 'अश्वस्यद्' meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but *तैलस्यन्द्*, and *घृतस्यन्द्* meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधौघप्रश्नथहिमश्नथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोद, एध, ओघ, प्रश्नथ, हिमश्नथाः वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद एध ओघप्रश्नथ हिमश्नथ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. अवोद, एध, ओघ, प्रश्नथ, and हिमश्नथ are irregularly formed by the elision of *न* ॥

Thus *उन्द्*—*अव* + *उन्द्* + *घञ्* = *अवोदः* ; *इन्ध्* + *घञ्* = *एधः*, the guṇa is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. *उन्द्* + *मन्* = *ओघ* (*Unadi मन्*). *प्र* + *श्नथ* + *घञ्* = *प्रश्नथः* (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also *हिमश्नथः* ॥

नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्चेः, पूजायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of *अञ्च* is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus *अञ्चिता* अस्य गुरवः, *अञ्चितमिव* शिरो वहति ॥ The *इद्* augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have *उदक्तपुरकं* कुपान् "the water was *drawn* from the well." Here the *इद्* is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्लि स्कान्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लि, स्कान्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः स्कन्द् स्यन्द् इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. *स्कन्द्* and *स्यन्द्* retain their nasal before the affix *क्त्वा* ॥

Thus *स्कन्त्वा*, and *स्यन्त्वा* or *स्यन्त्वा*, the *इद्* being added when *स्यन्द्* is considered as having an indicative *ऊ* in the dhatupâtha. When *इद्* is added, *क्त्वा* is no longer *क्ति* by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जान्तनशां विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान्त, नशाम्, विभाषा (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जान्तानामङ्गानां नशेश्च क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before *क्त्वा* in a root ending in *ज्* and in *नश्* ॥

Thus *रङ्क्त्वा* or *रत्त्वा*, *भङ्क्त्वा* or *भत्त्वा*, *नष्ट्वा* or *नष्ट्वा* See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment *न्* in *नश्* ॥ When *इद्* comes, we have *नश्चित्वा* ॥

भञ्जेश्च चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेश्च चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिष् (ई)

Thus अभञ्जि or अभञ्जि ॥ This is an aprâpta vibhâshâ, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास् इदङ् हलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शास्ः, इत्, अङ्, हलोः, (कङिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शास् उपधाया इकारदेशो भवति अङि परतो हलाद्यौ च कङिति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्वौ च शास् इत्वं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्विप् प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अङ् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicative क् or ङ्, there is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् ॥

Thus अन्वशिषन्, अन्वशिषताम् and अन्वशिषन्; so also शिष्टः (with क्त), शिष्टवान् (with क्तवतु), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्मः (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are ङित् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासति, शशासतु, शशासुः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् before the affix क्वि ॥ As आर्यशीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also मित्रशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + क्वि = शिस् + ० = शिर + ० = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.)

The root शास् is that root which takes अङ् aorist; namely the second Adâdi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvâdi and the first Adâdi शास् (आङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vart:—But before क्विप्, this शास् also is changed, as आशीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः ॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word क्षियाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शासो हौ परतः शा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास् ॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101. See VI. 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास् and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास् ॥ The anuvritti of कित् and ङित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पित् Sârvadhâtuka is not ङित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when धि is पित् and consequently anudâtta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before हि ॥

Thus जहि शत्रून् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, वनति, तनोत्यादीनाम्, अनुनासिक लोपः, झलि, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनतेस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति झलासौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâṭha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन and तन &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

Thus यमु gives us यत्वा (with क्त्वा), यतः (with क्त्), यतवान् (with क्त्वत्), यतिः (with क्तिन्), Similarly रमु gives us रत्वा, रतः, रतवान्, रतिः ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâṭha. So also of वन्: i. e. यतिः with क्तिन्; with क्तिच् the nasal is not elided as वन्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इद् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots are ten in number, सन्, सन्, क्षण्, क्षिण्, कण्, तण्, घण्, वन्, मन् and कृञ् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, कण्—कृतः, कृतवान्; तण्—तृतः, तृतवान्; घण्—घृतः, घृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a ङित् affix? Observe अतत, अतथा: (I. 2. 11 these affixes are ङित्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, दान्तः, दान्तवान्, not being anudâṭta in the Dhâtupâṭha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a jhal consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not क्तिन् or ङित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say “anudâṭta by upadesa”? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः, but not to शम्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गतिः is formed by क्तिन् affix and is accented with udâṭta on the first, but it is a secondary udâṭta and not of upadeśa or dhâtupâṭha, and does not prevent the elision of न् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâṭta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुदात्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as udâṭta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâṭta, and शम् is taught as udâṭta in the Dhâtupâṭha, and no where else taught as anudâṭta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâṭta ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ. The option applies to roots ending in म्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रयत्य or प्रयम्य, प्ररत्य or प्ररम्य, प्रणत्य or प्रणम्य, आगत्य आगम्य, but no option in आहत्य, प्रमत्य, प्रवत्य, प्रक्षत्य ॥

न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्तिचि, दीर्घः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तिचि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशादीनामनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix क्तिच्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudâttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and तनारि, do not lose their nasal before क्तिच्. Thus यन्ति, तन्ति, वन्ति ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः कौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, कौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः कौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before कि ॥

Thus अङ्गगत्, कलिङ्गगत्, अध्वगतो हरयः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart:—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Vart:—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ् : as, अग्नेगूः, अग्नेभूः ॥

विडुनोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-वनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विटि वनो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अङ्जाः, गोजाः, कृतजाः, अद्विजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि Rig V.), कूपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, अधिकाः, अग्नेगा उन्नेतणाम् ॥ The affix विट् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix वन् we have the following:—विजावा, अग्नेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sūtra shows that the limitation of anudâttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sūtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्झलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्-झलोः, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि झलादौ द्विति झलादौ प्रत्यय परत आकार आदेशा भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicative क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जातः, जातवान्, जातिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिषासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः॥ In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment इद्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिजनिषति, चिखानिषति ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes इ, so we have two forms सिषासति and सिसनिषति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन् ॥

If the phrase सन्झलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of झलि क्वाडेति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalâdi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a क्तिन् or डित् jhalâdi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment इ, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanâdi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vipratishedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term इद् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ई ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ द्विति प्रत्यये परतो जनसनखनामाकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory क् or ड् ॥

Thus जायते or जन्यते (with यक्) जाजायते or जज्जन्यते (with यङ्) । So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikarana भ्यन् of the Fourth class, which is डित् according to I. 2. 4; the जा is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यकि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोतेः, यकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोतेर्यकि परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus तायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, क्तिचि, लोपः,

च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्गस्य क्तिचि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix क्तिच्; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सातिः, सन्तिः and सतिः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by annvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारो न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकइत्येवं तद्वे-
रितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114 &c)."

This is an adhikâra sūtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sūtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ârdhadhâtuka". Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches "the अ standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided". To complete the sense we should add: "before an ardha-dhâtuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्ष is elided before the ârdhâtuka affix ह, as चिकीर्षित्, जिहीर्षित्, but the final अ is not elided before a sârvadhâtuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of शप् after roots of अशादि class, implies that there is never *lopa* of शप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ârdhâtuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोलोपः— The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) यलोपश्च, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as बेभिदिता, बेभिदितुन्, बेभिदितव्यम् from बेभिद्य the Intensive stem. Before Sârvadhâtuka, we have बेभिद्यते, चेच्छिद्यते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याज्यते ॥ In Sârvadhâtuka, पाचयति, याजयति, कारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आलोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः ववुः, In Sârvadhâtuka, यान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईत्वम्— The substitution of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, रीयते; in Sârvadhâtuka अधाताम्, अधाताम् (6) एत्वम्— The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sârvadhâtuka, स्नायात्, ग्लायात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (âsirlin). (7) चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुटि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिण्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sârvadhâtuka, क्रियेत, द्वियेत ॥

Kâsikâ:—अतो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

आलोप ईत्वमेत्वं च चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुटि ॥

भ्रस्जो रोपधयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भ्रस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रस्जो रेफस्योपधायाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the **र** and the penultimate letter **स्** of the root **भ्रस्ज**, there is optionally the substitute **रम्**, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.

The **र** and **स्** cease to exist and **र** takes their place. The substitute having an indicative **म्** comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus **भ्रस्ज + तृ = भर्ज + तृ = भर्ज** the **ज** being changed to **ञ** by VIII. 2. 36, and **तृ** to **ट** by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be **भ्रष्टा**; so also **भ्रष्टुम्** and **भर्ष्टुम्**, **भ्रष्टव्यम्** and **भर्ष्टव्यम्**, **भ्रज्जनम्** or **भर्ज्जनम्** ॥ But **भृष्टः** and **भृष्टवान्** by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word **उपदेश** (VI. 4. 37). is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root **bhrasj** as originally taught in the Dhatupâṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (**यङ्**) is **वरीभृज्यते** ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिहीनभ्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

48. The **अ** standing at the end of a stem is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus **चिकीर्षिता**, **चिकीर्षितुम्**, and **चिकीर्षितव्यम्**, from the Desiderative stem **चिकीर्षि** ॥ So also **धिनुतः** and **कृणुतः** from the roots **धिन्** and **कृण्व्** thus, **धिन् + उ** (III. 1. 80) = **धिन् + अ + उ** (III, 1. 80) = **धिन् + उ** (**अ** being elided before the ârdhâtuka **उ**) = **धिनु**, the 3rd Personal dual of it is **धिनुतः** ॥ The addition of **अ** by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sūtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided **अ** being sthānivat, prevents guṇa of **धि** ॥ So also **कृणुतः** ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the **अ** is elided"? Observe **चेता**, **क्षोता** here **इ** and **उ** have not been elided. Why do we say "अतः with a **तृ**"? The long **आ** will not be elided: as **याता**, **वाता** ॥ Why do we say 'before an Ardha-dhâtuka'? Before a Sârvadhâtuka there will be no elision of **अ** nor before a Taddhita: as **वृक्षत्वम्** and **वृक्षता** ॥

Vart:—The elision of such **अ** takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛiddhi and lengthening. As **चिकीर्षकः**, **जिहीर्षकः**, **चिकीर्ष्यते** and **जिहीर्ष्यते** ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य यशब्दस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final **य** in a verbal stem, this **य** is elided also before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus **बेभ्रिस्ता**, **बेभ्रितुम्**, **बेभ्रितव्यम्** from the Intensive stem **बेभ्रि** ॥ In the sūtra **यस्य** is given, which is the Genitive singular of **य** namely of the letters **य अ** ॥ By the rule of **अलोऽन्यस्य** (I. 1. 52), the **अ** of **य** ought to be elided

and not य् ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of अ would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word हलः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य् ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संघात) conjointly viz.] य and not य् ? Observe ईर्ष्यता, मन्थिता, शुच्यता from the simple roots ईर्ष्य, मन्थ्, and शुच्य् ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant ?' Observe लोलूयिता, पोषयिता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of य of the Denominative stem (क्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

The क्य denotes the affixes क्यच् and क्यङ् ॥ Thus समिध्यता or समिधिता, इषयिता or इषयिता meaning समिधमात्मन इच्छति or समिध इवाचरति &c.

णेरनिटि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अनिटि, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिडास्य आर्द्धधातुके णेलोपो भवति ।

51. The इ of the verbal stem formed with the affix णि, is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix which does not take the augment इद् ॥

This debars इवङ्, the semi-vowel य, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अततक्षत्, अररक्षत्, आशिशत्, आटिटत्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and क्षीप्सति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इद् ?' Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेटि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेटि परतो णेलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क्त and क्वतु when these take the augment इद् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an ârdhadhâtuka affix having the augment इद्" ? Observe संज्ञपितः पशुः ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the इ being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, ज्ञप् is a root which takes no इद् augment in the Nishṭhâ. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इद् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञपि being of two syllables will always have इद् in the Nishṭhâ, and so it is useless to use the word सेटि in the sūtra. The word सेटि in the sūtra fixes the time when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, first there should be added the

augment इद् and *then*, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + त, here let us elide the णि *first*: and we get कार् + त, now we cannot add इद् to त, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इद् by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must clide इद् *first*. For जपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनितेति मन्त्रविषये इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before the affix तृ with the augment इद् ॥

Thus यो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥

वृद्धिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि शमितेति इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before an इद् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शृतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by शृच् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शृतं हविः शमायितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्तन्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम्-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेरयादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम्, अन्त, आलु, आय्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the Unādi affix झच्, झ = अन्न, added to the roots गण्ड and मण्ड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनायत्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अय् by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अय् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अय by any sandhi-rules.

ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (णेः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य णेरयादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix ल्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रशमय्य गतः, संशमय्य गतः, प्रवेभिवय्य, प्रगणय्य ॥ But प्रवात्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of **इ** and the elision of **अ** should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus **हाम् + णिच् = हामि**; this **आ** is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have **हामि** ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pûrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly **वेभिश्च** is the Intensive root, its **इ** is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the **इ** of **भि** would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of **अ** in **गण** which is a root which ends in **अ**, (see Dhâtupâṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ऽऽपः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य णेर्यपि परतो विभाषा ऽप्यदेशो भवति ॥

57. **अय्** is optionally substituted for the **इ** of **णि** before the affix **ल्यप्**, after the verb **आप्** ॥

Thus **प्राप्य** or **प्राप्य गतः** ॥ This however does not apply to the **आप्** substitute for **इङ्**, as **अध्याप्य गतः** (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Prati-padokta applies here.

युप्लुवोर्दीर्घश्छन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुइत्येतयोर्ल्यपि परतश्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In **यु** and **प्लु**, long is substituted for **उ**, before **ल्यप्** in the Veda.

Thus **हान्त्यनुपूर्वं वियूय**; यथा घो वक्षिणा परिप्लूय ॥ Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe **संयुत्य**, **आप्लुत्य** in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियश्च दीर्घो भवति ल्यपि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before **ल्यप्** ॥

As **प्रक्षीय**, **उपक्षीय** ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्. अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यार्थो भावकर्मणी ताभ्यामन्यत्र या निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the **इ** of **क्षि** before the Participle in **क्त**, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in **ण्यत्** ॥

The force of **ण्यत्** is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of **ण्यत्**, the vowel of **क्षि** is lengthened. Thus **आक्षीणः**, **प्रक्षीणः**, **परिक्षीणः** all used in the active sense. The **क्त** is added to the Intransitive **क्षि** to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus **प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य** 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here **क्त** is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

‘यत्?’ Observe अक्षितमसिमाशेषः ॥ Here त is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means ‘imperishable’. The vowel not being lengthened the त is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽऽक्रोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा) वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोश गम्यमाने दैन्ये च क्षियो निष्ठायाऽन्यस्ये वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle क्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle ण्यत्, when the word means ‘imprecation’ or ‘a miserable plight’.

Thus क्षितायुरेधि or क्षीणायुरेधि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणशब्दः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेश ऽज्जनग्रहदशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, अच्-हन्-ग्रह-दशाम्, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशे ऽज्जन्तानामङ्गानां हन् ग्रह दृश् इत्येतेषां च चिण्वत्कार्यं भवति वा । यदा चिण्वत् तदा इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच् (S-Aorist), सीयुट् (Benedictive) and तासि (the Priph-rastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भाव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हन् (3) ग्रह् and (4) दृश् are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण्व, and when so treated, they have the augment इट् ॥

The augment इट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्, सीयुट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism? They are given in the following verse :—

Kārikā चिण्वद् वृद्धिर्युक् च हन्तेष्व घस्यं
दीर्घश्चोक्तो यो मितं वा चिणीति ।
इट् चासिद्धस्तेन मे लुप्यते णि-
मित्यभायं बलनिमित्तोऽविधाती ॥

First :—The Vṛiddhi takes place as in चिण्व (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of युक् augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly च is substituted for the इ of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory

(Bhuādi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इद् being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix णि is elided : and this इद् is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhātupāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यत or चेष्यते, अचायिष्यत or अचेष्यत ॥ So also with श, as, शायिष्यते or शस्यते, अशायिष्यत or अशस्यत ॥

In शमि there are three forms, the two शामिष्यते or शमिष्यते, अशामिष्यत and अशमिष्यत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इद् augment which is considered as asiddha : and शम् being a root of मित् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शमयिष्यते and अशमयिष्यत are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अशायिषाताम्, or अशिषाताम् and अशामिषाताम् or अशमिषाताम् ॥ With the affix लीयुद्—चायिषीष्ट or चेषीष्ट, शायिषीष्ट or शसीष्ट and शामिषीष्ट or शमिषीष्ट ॥ With the affix तासि :—चायिता or चेषता, शायिता or शता, शामिता or शमिता ॥ The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अशायि (VII. 3. 33), and अशामि (VII. 3. 34) or अशमि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन् :—Fut. घानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अघानिष्यत or अहनिष्यत, Aor. अघानिषाताम् or अवाधिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben घानिषीष्ट or वधिषीष्ट; Per. Fut. घानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिण् model is अघानि ॥

(3) महः—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. अमाहिष्यत or अमहीष्यत; Aor. अमाहिषाताम् or अमहीषाताम् (अमहिषाताम्)?; Ben. माहिषीष्ट or (महिषीष्ट)? महीषीष्ट, Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अमाहि ॥

(4) कृशः—Fut. कृशिष्यते or कृश्यते, Con. अकृशिष्यत or अकृश्यत; Aor. अकृशिषाताम् or अकृशाताम्; Ben कृशिषीष्ट or कृशीष्ट; Per. Fut. कृशिता or कृष्टा (कृष्टा)? ॥ The चिण् model is अकृशि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c? Observe चेतव्यम्, शतव्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive? Observe चेष्यते and शस्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इङ् and इण् ॥ Thus हनिष्यते, घानिष्यते, एष्यते or आयिष्यते, अध्येष्यते or अध्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिण् ॥

दीङो युडचि कृडिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङः, युट्, अचि, कृडिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीङोयुडाग्नो भवति अजाहो कृडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

63. युद् is the augment after दीङ्, of an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयाते and उपदिशीयिरे ॥ The Personal ending is कित् by I. 2. 5. दीङ् being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix. This augment, however, is not to be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of semi-vowel substitution under VI. 4. 82. If that substitution were allowed, the augment would become useless. Why before an affix having क् or ङ्? Observe उपदानम् ॥

आतो लोप इति च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इति, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशवार्द्धधातुके कङिति चाकारान्तस्याङ्स्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix with the augment इद् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus पपिथ and तस्थिथ ॥ Here the affix has the इद् augment. पपतुः, पपुः, तस्थतुः, तस्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are कित् by I. 2. 5 गोरः, कम्बलरः with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also प्रश (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before Sârvadhâtuka affixes, we have यान्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्यरे and व्यत्यले ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of रा and ला with the affix इ (इद्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लायते, वासीय ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्स्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus हेयम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेयम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मा स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलादौ कङिति प्रत्यये परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (घु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus दीयते, धीयते with यक्, वेदीयते, वेधीयते with यङ् ॥ So also मीयते मेमीयते स्थीयते, तेष्ठीयते, गीयते, जेगीयते, अध्यगीष्ट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जेहीयते, अवरीयते, अवसेसीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana षप् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvādi वा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also हा-जिहीते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe इदुः, इदुः ॥ Here had इल् not been used in the sūtra, the आ of वा would be replaced by ई by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix अतुः ० उस् ; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this *subsequent* sūtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word इल् in the aphorism is a jñāpaka that the rule of vipratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is *superseded* by the present rule substituting ई instead. So also दाता and धाता before non-कित् and non-ङित् affixes.

एलिङि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्यागापाजहातिसामज्ञानां लिङि परत एकारदेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, मेयात्, धेयात्, स्थेयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and अवसेयात् ॥ Before non-कित् and non-ङित् we have दासीष्ट and धासीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ् is here meant the आशीर्लिङ् or the Precative mood ; the Personal endings of which mood are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are कित्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा अन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रादिभ्यो अन्यस्य संयोगादेराकारान्तस्य वा एकारदेशो भवति लिङि परतः ॥

68. For the final आ of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, ए may optionally be substituted, in the Benedictive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The स्या was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus ग्लेयात् or ग्लयात्, म्लेयात् or म्लयात्, but only स्थेयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase क्ङिति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्लासीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an aṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), र्व is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र is no part of the aṅga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, घुमास्यागापाजहातिसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां यदुक्तं तत्र ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix ल्यप् follows घुमा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रदाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रणाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a क्तिन् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मयतेरिकारदेशो वा भवति ॥

70. इ may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमाय ॥

लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, लृङ् क्षु, अद्, उदात्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् लृङ् इत्येतेषु परतोङ्स्याडागमो भवति, उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अद् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षीत्, अहर्षीत्, अकरोत्, अहरत् and अकरष्यत्, अहिरष्यत् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्षु परत उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

72. आद् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत्; औज्जीत्, औज्जत्, औज्जिष्यत् ॥ ऐहिष्ट, ऐह्यत् and ऐहिष्य औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यञ्, वप् and वह् are ऐज्यत्, औप्यत् and औह्यत् formed by आद् and not अद् ॥ First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic यक् is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इज्यत्, उप्यत्, and उह्यत् stems (VI. I. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आद् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa यक्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यक् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आद् ॥ Why आद् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim :—शब्दान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति "when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya."

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते, आद् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमो दृश्यते । वष हि विहितस्ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ।

73. The आद् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृश्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नश् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युञ् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लुङ् लङ् लृङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्योगे लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्षु यदुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अद् or आद् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हाशीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्मा, भवानीक्षिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहित, मा स्म भवानीक्षित ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगे ऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ् योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगे ऽपि बहुलमडादौ भवतः अमाङ्योगेऽपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda : the augment अद् or आद् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in जनिष्ठा उमः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममूनयीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममर्षयीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परवज्जान्यवाप्सुः, मा अभिरथाः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इरयोः, रे, (बहुलंछन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इरे इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विङ्गर्भे प्रथमं इध्रे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्य परिध्रे ॥ In इध्रे, the आ of धा is elided before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोग्निर्माणि चकिरे ॥ Here इद् augment is first added to रे after the सेद् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां खोरियङुवडौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, श्नु, धातु, भ्रुवाम्, खोः, इयङ्, उवडौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातेरिवर्णोवर्णान्तस्य भु इत्येतस्य इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ऽचि परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणे तन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतुः लुलुवतुः, लुलुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भ्रुवौ and भ्रुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel? Observe आप्नुयात्, शक्नुयात्, राध्नुयात् ॥ Why "of नु &c."? Observe लक्ष्यै, लक्ष्याः, वध्यै, वध्याः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Vārt:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ् : as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with ल्युट् and ण्वुल् ॥

Vārt:—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ विषुवं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्येवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ऽचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयर्त्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but ईषतुः and ईषुः, ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्येतस्याज्जादौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङ् आदेशो भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीणाम् the न् being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा ऽम्रशसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम्, शसोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयङ् आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्री पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्स्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्स्य यणादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (एति) is substituted a semivowel (य), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इयङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa: on the maxim मध्ये उपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्ते, नोत्तरान् ॥ "Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them." So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

परनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्त्वयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्माद्विधर्णान्न भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽचि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pûrva इ ॥ Thus निन्यतुः, निन्युः, उन्न्यौ, उन्न्यः, ग्रामण्यौ, ग्रामण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kâraka-upapada ग्राम ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kâraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमनियौ and परमनियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say 'of इ or ई'? Observe लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः from लुलु which ending in ऊ takes उवङ् substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवक्री d. यवक्रियौ pl. यवक्रियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say "forming part of the root"? So that the rule may apply to उत्तरी also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न् being part of the upasarga उत् ॥ Thus we have उन्न्यौ and उन्न्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपूर्व should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ई, and not as qualifying the word अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुपि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुपि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्ववयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णान्न भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचो ऽजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final

ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलू 'a sweeper':—d. खल्वौ, pl. खल्वः; so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः, and सकृल्लू : dual सकृल्ल्वौ and सकृल्ल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटपुवौ, कटपुवः (because ऊ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kāraka word : as परमलू :—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा श्वः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजाहौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भवेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vārt:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as हन्वौ, हन्वः, पुनर्वौ, पुनर्वः, कारवौ (काराभ्वौ), कारवः (काराभ्वः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोरुभयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semivowel substitution.

As विभ्वम्, विभुवम्, सुध्यः and सुधियः; वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वं विशे, विशे विभुवम्, सुध्यो हव्यमग्ने, सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुशुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुशु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाचः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाचो संयोगपूर्वस्याजाहौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel व् is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of नु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—जुहति, जुहतु; अजुहन्, so also with सु—as सुन्वन्ति, सुन्वन्तु, असुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say “of हु and इतु formed stems”? Observe योयुवति, रोरुवति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the यङ् affix. The यङ् is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jnâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in उ, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sârva-dhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यङ् be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârva-dhâtuka? Observe जुहवतुः, जुहवुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and राध्नुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो बुग्लुङ्लितोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, बुक्, लुङ्, लितोः, अचि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो बुगागमो भवति लुङि लिटि चाजासौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (बुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम्; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥

ऊदुपधाया गोहः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत्, उपधायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्य, अचि, प्रत्यये ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो ऽङ्गस्य उपधाया ऊकारादेशो भवति अजासौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gunated stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say ‘penultimate’? So that the substitution should not apply any where else. The form गोह् is taken in the sôtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निजुगृहतुः, निजुगृहुः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोढा, निगोढुम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह् in order to prohibit the अङ्ग substitution of नि before ल्यप् ॥ As निगोहि + ल्यप् = निगूह (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अङ्ग, गूह being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kâśikâ the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोषो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोषः, णौ, उदुपधायाः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ दोष उपधाया ऊकार आदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गौह, may be given for the root दुष् being exhibited as दोष् in the sūtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वर्तते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थे दोष उपधाया वा ऊकारदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्तं or प्रज्ञां दूषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धातवो घटादयो मित इत्येवमादयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म्, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwâdi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as शम् and तम् of Divâdi class. Thus घटयति, व्यथयति, अनयति, रजयति, शमयति, ज्ञपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optional' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The forms उत्क्रामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण् (इ), and before the Absolute affix णमुल् (अम्) ॥

चिण्णमुलोर्दीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण्परे णमुल्परे च णौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अशमि or अशामि, भतमि or भतामि with चिण्; and शमंशमम्, and शमंशाम्; तमंतमम् or तामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sūtra? The rule does not teach merely the *optional shortening*. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशमि, and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty:—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शमयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthânivât: therefore, the णि which would be followed by

चिञ् or णमुल्, would not have in it the मिञ् अङ्ग, because the first णि intervenes between the मिञ् अङ्ग and the चिञ् and णमुल् affix, and that णि which is preceded by a मिञ् अङ्ग is not followed by चिञ् and णमुल्, because the second णि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sūtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (दीर्घ). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a दीर्घविधि, the lopa-substitution of णि would *not* be sthānivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a द्वस्वविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adeśa of णि being sthānivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word दीर्घ is used in the sūtra to make this rule a दीर्घविधि, and prevent sthānivat-bhāva. Thus take the causative of शम्, which will be शामि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with यङ्, शामि + यङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = शामि शामि + यङ् = शशामि + यङ् (VII. 4. 60) = शं शामि + यङ् (युक् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = शशामि + यङ् = शशाम् + य (VI. 4. 51) = शशाम्य. Add णिच् to this i.e. make the causative of the Intensive. शशाम् + य + इ ॥ Then the य् of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = शशाम् + इ + इ. Then इ is elided by VI. 4. 49 = शशाम् + इ = शशामि ॥ This शशामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative शम् ॥ Now add चिञ् or णमुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अशंशामि or अशंशामि with चिञ् and शशाम्य or शशाम्य with णमुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adeśa of णिच् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots शम् and तम् (both Divādi) ending in म् do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिञ् and णमुल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शामि — शमयति, तमि — तमयति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शामि + चिञ् = शाम् + चिञ् (the इ of णि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = शामि or शामि (with the augment अ = अशामि or अशामि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word दीर्घ implies as much, otherwise the sūtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in शमयन्तं मयुङ्क्ते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add णि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शामि, as शामि + णि = शाम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = शामि, the lopādeśa here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the अ of शाम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this शामि with चिञ् we get अशामि, and with णमुल् we get शामम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopādeśa will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sūtra. Thus the चिञ् and णमुल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of शम् are अशामि or अशामि; शमंशाम्य or शमंशाम्य and from the form शंशमयति, we have अशंशामि or अशंशामि, शंशमंशाम्य or शंशमंशं-

शामम् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign यङ् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खचि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खचि, ह्रस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खच्परे णो परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विषन्तपः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

ह्लादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्लादः, निष्ठायाम्, (ह्रस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्लादो ऽङ्गस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of हृद् (हादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु ॥

Thus प्रहृष्टः, प्रहृष्टवान्, but प्रहृष्टयति before non-nishthā. The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रहृष्टिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) ह्लादः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्धे ऽद्व्युपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, धे, अ द्व्युपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्याद्व्युपसर्गस्य घप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अद्विप्रभृत्युपसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churâdi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरच्छदः, प्रच्छदः, दन्तच्छदः ॥ But समुपच्छादः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as समुपातिच्छादः ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthânavat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

Vart:—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्त्रन्किषु च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रन्, किषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस् मन् त्रन् क्वि इत्येतेषु परतश्छादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रन् and कि ॥

Thus छादिस्, छद्मन् (neuter), छत्रम्, धामच्छत् and उपच्छत् ॥ The first three are Unâdi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, क्ङिति अनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येषामङ्गानामुपधाया लोपो भवत्यजादौ प्रत्यये क्ङित्यनङि परतः ॥

98. The root-vowel of गम्, हन्, जन्, खन्, and घस् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicator क् or ऊ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus जग्मतुः, जग्मुः जग्मतुः, जग्मुः, जज्ञे, जज्ञाते, जज्ञिरे, चखन्तुः, चखन्तुः, जज्जतुः, जज्जुः, अक्षममीमदन्तपितरः, ॥ किङ्कतीकिम्, गमनम्, हननम्, ॥ अनङ्गीतिकिम्, अगमन्, अघसन्, ॥ अचीत्येव, गम्यते, हन्यते ॥

Why 'having indicator क् or ऊ्'? See गमनम्, हननम् ॥ Why 'not अङ्, ?' See अगमन्, अघसन् ॥ Why 'beginning with a vowel, ?' See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पयोः, छन्दसि, (कङिति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विषये उपधाया लोपो भवति अजाशौ किङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and पप् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicator क् or ऊ् ॥

As विततिरे कवयः, शकुना इव पतिमः ॥ In secular language वितेनिरे, पेनिम् ॥

घसिभसोर्हलि च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अचि कङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति हलाशवजाशौ च किङिति प्रत्यये परतः ।

100. The root-vowel of घस् and भस् is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicator क् or ऊ् ॥

Thus सन्धिश्च मे सर्वातिश्च मे, बद्धांते हरी धानाः ॥ सन्धिः is thus derived: क्तिन् is added to the root भद्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for भद्; thus घस् + ति = घस + ति (भ being elided by the present sūtra) = घ + ति (स being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त is changed to ध, and घ to ग and we have गिधः ॥ Then समाना गिधः = सन्धिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बद्धाम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + लु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = ब भस् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = बभ् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = बङ् + धाम् = बद्धाम् ॥ This rule of elision being a nitya and a subsequent rule ought to have operated first, but, as a Vedic anomaly, the reduplication takes place first. See VII. 2. 67

Why do we read "before an affix beginning *also* with a consonant"? Because the elision takes place before a vowel affix also, as बप्सति = भस् + लु + ति = बभ् + भस् + ति (VII. 1. 4) = बप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicator क् or ऊ्? Observe अंशुन् बभस्ति ॥ The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

हुश्चल्यो हेहिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-श्चल्योः, हेः, धिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्माद् स्रज्जन्तेभ्यश्चोत्तरस्य हलादेशः स्थाने धिरादेशो भवति ।

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), धि is substituted for the

Imperative affix हि, when the latter does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus हु-जुहुधि; झल् consonants; भिद्-भिन्धि, छिद्-छिन्धि ॥ But प्रीणीहि, प्रीणीहि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe जुहुताम् ॥ Why do we read the anuvṛitti of इलि into this sūtra? When हि does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i. e. when it takes the augment इट्, the rule does not apply. As रुदिहि, स्वपिहि ॥ In the case of जुहुतात्, भिन्तात्, when हि is replaced by तात् (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because तात् is a later rule in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī, and because सकृदतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव "When two rules, while they apply simultaneously mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether". When अकच् is added by V. 3. 71, धि substitution takes place, as भिन्द्रकि, छिन्द्रकि ॥ The maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् applies here :—"Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule."

श्रुशृणुपृकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रु-शृणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेर्द्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रु शृणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य हेर्द्धिरादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

102. धि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after श्रु, शृणु, पृ, कृ and वृ ॥

As श्रुधी हविमिन्द्र, शृणुधी, गिरः, पूर्धि, उरुकृदुरुणस्कृ धि and अवावृधि, ॥

In शृणुधी, the हि is not elided after the उ of णु, as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than शृणुधि are irregular; णप् being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided *diversely* by बहुलं छन्दसि II. 4. 73

अङितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इतः, च, हेर्द्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङितश्च हेर्द्धिरादेशो भवति ॥

103. चि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not ङित् ॥

Under III. 4. 88 हि is also चित् in the Vedas: and when it is चित्, it is not ङित् by I. 2. 4. Thus रागन्धि, यन्धि and युयोधि in the following सोमरागन्धि अस्मभ्यं तद्वर्गभ्य प्रयन्धि, युयोध्यस्मञ् जुहुगणमेनः

Why do we say 'when it is not ङित्'? Observe प्रीणीहि ॥ रागन्धि is irregularly Parasmaipada of रग; the णप् being replaced by झल्, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The न् is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not ङित् ॥ प्रदाम्धि is from यम, the णप् is elided: and युयोधि from यु (यौति), the णप् being replaced by झल् ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य बुग्भवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिण्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अलावि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितराम्, अहारितराम्, here the elision of the personal affix त् (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तरप् and तमप् are not elided: though if the sūtra were to be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चिण्, ought to be elided. Or the word क्तिङिति is understood here; so that कित् and डित् affixes of चिण् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अहस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताद्ग्रादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुम्भवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पच, पठ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But युहि, रुहि after stems ending in इ. Why do we say "short अ"? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि (लुना + हि, the ई substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो यो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तात्प्रत्ययादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुम्भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययादित्यत्र छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikarāṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and इतु ॥ Thus चितु, छितु, कुरु ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, छुनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikarāṇa or affix"? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikarāṇa. Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राप्नुहि, तक्ष्णुहि ॥

Vārt:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikarāṇa उ and इतु is optional in the Vedas; as आतनुहि यातुधानान्, धितुहि यक्षपतिम्, तेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, म्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयपुकारो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikarāṇa उ and इतु, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म् or य् ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्वः, तनुयः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, युमः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe शक्नुवः, शक्नुमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix नु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, इलु and लुप् cause the elision of the *whole* affix, while 'lopa' will cause elision of the final letter only of the affix. If the whole affix be elided, we could not get सुन्वः &c., Moreover, in कुर्व and कुर्म formed by guṇa of कृ, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लुक् been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लोप we have such guṇa also by I. 1. 62.

नित्यं करोतेः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोतेः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेरुत्तरस्य उकारप्रत्ययस्य वकारमकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before व and म in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कृ + उ + वः = कृ + उ + वः (VI. 4. 110) = कृ + वः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthānivat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of कृ should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यं करोतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेरुत्तरस्योकारप्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुरु is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम् and कुर्युः ॥ The augment यासुद् is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य ॥

अत उत्सार्वधातुके ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उत्, सार्वधातु के, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरुत्तरस्य स्थाने उकार आवेशो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sârvadhâtuka affix with an indicative क् or ङ्, short उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कर् + उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ + उ + तस् = कर् + उ + तस् (VII. 3. 84) = कर् + उ + तस् = कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110). The तस् is डित् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्वन्ति, कुरु ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sârvadhâtukâ'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sârvadhâtuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending हि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त् in उत् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not क्रिन् or डित् we have करोति, करोषि and करोमि (I. 2. 4).

इत्सोरलोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्-असोः, अत्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः । भस्यास्तेश्चाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix, the अ of आ and अस् is elided.

इन is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुन्धः, रुन्धाति, भिन्तः, भिन्वन्ति; So also of अस्—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिनन्ति and अस्ति before non-कित् and non-डित् affixes. इन+अस् ought to be इनास्, instead of that we have इनस् in the sūtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कडिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of आ (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe वान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe बिभ्रति ॥ Why 'before कित् and डित्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हल्यघोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आन्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च घुवर्जितानामात ईकारादेशो भवति हलादौ सार्वधातुके कडिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of आ and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is दा or धा (घु) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, पुनीतः, लुनीथः, पुनीथः, लुनीते and पुनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have मिमीते, मिमीषे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe इत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-कित् and non-डित् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुके कडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरिद्रातेर्हलादौ सार्वधातुके कडिति परत इकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरिद्रातेरार्धधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धश्च प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kârîkâ ॥ न हरिद्रायके लोपो हरिद्राणे च नेष्यते ।

विहरिद्रासतीत्येके विहरिद्रिषतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अद्यतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of हरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus हरिद्रितः, हरिद्रिथः, हरिद्रिवः, हरिद्रिमः ॥ But हरिद्रिति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and हरिद्राति before a non-डित् affix.

Vārt:—The final of हरिद्रा is elided before an Ārdhadhātuka affix.

Vārt:—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus हरिद्रा by losing आ becomes हरिद्र, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrā'. Thus ण comes after roots ending in long आ (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix भञ् (III. 1. 134). Thus हरिद्राति = हरिद्रः ॥

Kārikā:—The elision does not take place in the forms हरिद्रायक and हरिद्राण, and the Desiderative may be either विहरिद्रासति or विहरिद्रिषति ॥ Sidhānta Kaumudī gives the following rule: "आ of हरिद्रा should be considered as elided when applying an ārdhadhātuka affix, but optionally so before लुङ् (Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), ण्वुल् and ल्युट्" ॥

Vārt:—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अहरिद्रीत् or अहरिद्रासीत् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सिच् ॥ The form हरिद्रस्य in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from हरिद्रा to हरिद्र ॥

भियो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि कङिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्स्यान्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति हलादौ कङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus बिभितः or बिभीतः, बिभियः or बिभीयः, बिभिवः or बिभीवः, बिभिमः or बिभीमः ॥ But बिभ्यति before a vowel-beginning affix and बिभेति before a non-ङिन् affix and भीयते before an ārdhadhātuka affix.

जहातेश्च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् कङितिसार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेश्च इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलादौ कङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sārvadhātuka किन् or ङिन् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But जहति before a vowel affix, and जहात before a non-ङिन् affix, and हीयते and जिहीयते before an ārdhadhātuka. The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारश्चान्तादेशो भवति इकारश्चान्यतरस्यां हौ परतः ।

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending हि ॥

Thus जहाहि, जहिहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके कृडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्कारादौ कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा. is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix.

Thus जह्यात्, जह्याताम् and जह्युः ॥

ध्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ धु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानामस्तेष्वेकारादेशो भवति ही परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (धु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of धु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sūtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sūtra should be considered as having an indicatory ह् so that the *whole* of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyâsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादेर्लिटि ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये, अनादेशादेः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृडितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिटि परत आदेश आदिर्यस्याङ्गस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्हलोर्मध्ये यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दग्धेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नशिमन्योरलित्येत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यभिपचोरप्यलिटि एत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिवप्योश्च ॥

120. ए is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicatory क् (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेणतुः, रेणुः, येमतुः, येमुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, देमतुः, देमुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe शिखितुः, शिखिः the इ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe रासते, रासाते, रासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two simple consonants'? Observe ररक्षतुः, ररक्षुः ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित् here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तत्सरतुः and तत्सरुः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चक्रणतुः, चक्रणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमतुः, नेमुः, सेहे and सेहाते, सेहिरे though णम् and षह् are the roots, and ण् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जश् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sūtra and will make the stem आदेशादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem आदेशादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, श, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पच् the reduplicate is पपच्, the first प is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प will be प ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñâpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and दद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes âdeśâdî: otherwise not.

When the affixes are not कित् or डित् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपच, अहं पपठ ॥

Vârt:—ए is substituted for the अ of दम्भ under similar circumstances:—thus देमतुः, देमुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vârtika.

Vârt:—ए is substituted for the अ of नश् and मन before affixes other than those of लिट् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अङ् of नश् which belongs to Pushâdi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by वुन् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशन्नस्येषवः ॥

Vârt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्येमानम्, (वि + अम् + चानश्, the augment मुक् being dropped); पेचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vârt:—So also of यज् and वष, as आयेजे and आविषे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आट् being added by VI. 4. 73.

थलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल् मध्ये अनादेशादेः) वृत्तिः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतो ऽनादेशादेरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्यातः स्थाने एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यास-लोपश्च ॥

121. ए is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending थल् of the Perfect having the augment इट् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus पेचिथ, शेकिथ ॥ But पपक्य before अनिथ ; दिदेविथ, the vowel being इ and not अ ; ततक्षिथ, ररक्षिथ, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चक्रणिथ, बभणिथ, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and भ ॥ This sūtra applies even when the affix is not क्तिन्; and थल् is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इद् except थल् ॥

तृफलभजत्रपश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादेर्लिटिथलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृ फल भज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि क्ङिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्येभ्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicative क् (or ङ्) follow, as well as when थल् with the इद् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिथ, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिथ, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिथ, त्रेपे, त्रेपाते, त्रेपिरे ॥ In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल् and भज् the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in त्रप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vart: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, श्रेथतुः, श्रेथुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽधर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

123. ए is substituted for the आ of राध when meaning 'to hurt some one', and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicative क् (or ङ्), as well as before थल् with the इद् augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिथ, but राधतुः, राधुः, राधिथ in any other sense than that of 'hurting'. In this sūtra the *long* आ of राध is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the annuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलमध्ये in this way "in राध whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए".

वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जृ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर (जृ), भ्रम, and त्रस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इट् ॥

Thus जरतुः, जेरुः, जेरिथ, or जजरतुः, जजरुः, जजरिथ, भ्रमतुः, भ्रेषुः, भ्रेमिथ, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रषुः, बभ्रमिथ, त्रसतुः, त्रेषुः, त्रसिथ, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसुः, तत्रसिथ ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणादीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आवेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कङिति परत, स्थलि च सेटि ॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, भ्राज्, भ्राश्, भ्लाश्, स्यम् and स्वन् ; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्) as well as before the थ with the इट् augment.

Thus फणतुः, फणुः, फणिथ or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिथ; रोजतुः, रोजुः, रोजिथ, or रराजतुः, रराजुः, रराजिथ; भ्रजे, भ्रजाते, भ्रजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भ्रेशे, भ्रेशाते, भ्रेशिरे, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे; भ्लेशे, भ्लेशाते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाशे, बभ्लाशाते, बभ्लाशिरे; स्यमतुः, स्येषुः, स्येमिथ, or सस्यमतुः, सस्येषुः, सस्यमिथ; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिथ, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिथ, Why of 'seven'? Observe, वध्वनतुः, वध्वनुः, वध्वनिथ ॥ The Phaṇādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसददवादिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस दद इत्येतयोर्वकारादीनां च धातूनां गुण इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारावेशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a व, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or डित् follow, or the set थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशशसतुः, विशशसुः, विशशसिथे, वरवे, वरदाते, वरदिर, Of roots beginning with व्-ववमतुः, ववषुः, ववमिथ, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशशरतुः, विशशरुः, विशशरिथ, लुलविथ, पुपविथ ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्शब्दस्यौकारस्य चायमकार इति एत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of क् as कृ changed to कर् or of उ changed to ओ again changed to अच् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्वणः, तृ, असौ, अनञः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वणित्येतस्याङ्गस्यत् इत्ययमावेशो भवति, सुश्चेत्ततः परो न भवति, स च नञ उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. तृ (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the ऋ is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanāmasthâna cases we have नुम् augment VII. 1. 70. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्ता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, अर्वद्भिः, अर्वन्ती, अर्वन्तम् ॥ असाविति किम्, अर्वा ॥ अनम् इति किम्, अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम् ॥

But अर्वा in the Nominative Sing. and अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम् with the Negative Particle नञ् ॥

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मघवा, बहुलम्, (तृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

128. तृ is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

As मघवान्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः, मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः, मघवन्ता, मघवन्ती, माघवन्तम्, ॥ न च भवति, मघवा, मघवानौ, मघवानः, मघवानम्, मघवानौ, मघोनः, मघोना, मघवद्भ्याम्, मघवद्भिः, मघोनी, माघवनम् ॥

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्ययमाधिकारः, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामी भस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyâya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पाद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पाद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus द्विपदः पश्य, द्विपदा कृतम् but द्विपादौ, द्विपादः where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmasthâna.

पादः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पादः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति । स च पाच्छब्दस्यैव भवति ॥

130. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus द्विपदः पश्य, द्विपदा, द्विपदे, द्विपदिकां ददाति (V. 4. 1), त्रिपदिकां ददाति, त्रिपदिकां ददाति ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्वन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पश्य, विदुषा, विदुषे, पेक्षुषः पश्य, पेक्षुषा, पेक्षुषे, ययुषः पश्य ॥ For the purposes of the elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + क्वसु (III. 2. 107) = पपा + वस् = पपा + उस् + शस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पप् + उस् + अस् = पपुषः पश्य ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स् (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix क्वसु is included in वसु for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊह् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊह् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य भस्य ऊह् इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊह्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a ण्वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रष्टौहः, प्रष्टौहा, प्रष्टौहे, वित्यौहः, वित्यौहा, वित्यौहे. ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then प्रष्ठ + ऊह् = प्रष्टौह्; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus: प्रष्ठ + वह् + शस् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + अस् (the affix ण्वि III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रष्टौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact ण्वि is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊह्, indicates the existence of following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह् ॥

श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वन् युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व् of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुना, शुने, यूनः, यूना, यूने, मघोनः, मघोना, मघोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् शौवनं वर्तते, माघवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अञ् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as श्वन् belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न्, as युवतीः पश्य, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word अनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य भस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इष्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्ष्णः पश्य, तक्ष्णा and तक्ष्णे ॥ *Vart:*—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष पूर्व, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम्, अणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारपूर्वो यो ऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्ष्णः, ताक्ष्णः, धौनवः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वैमन ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्ष्ण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा डिश्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, डि, श्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डौ परतः शीशब्दे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राज्ञि or राजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, व्, म्, अन्तात्, (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुत्तरस्यानो ऽकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वण, अथर्वणा, अथर्वणे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिशीब्ना, प्रातशीब्ने, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in वन् and मन्'? Observe तक्ष्णा, and तक्ष्णे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अल्लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययमञ्चतिलुप्तनकारोऽप्युह्यते । तदन्तस्य भस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus इधीचः पश्य, इधीचा, इधीचे, मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and न् of अञ्च् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उत्तरस्याच् ईकारदेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च्), after the word उत्त् when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलालपः पश्यः, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पश्य, शुभंया, and शुभंये from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खट्वाः पश्य, मालाः पश्य ॥ This sūtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः ; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pāṇini himself has declined त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्वा ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (भनः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वङ्यादेरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङि परत आत्मन आदेशलोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङोन्यत्रापि छन्दसि लोपो वृश्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus त्मना देवेभ्यः, त्मना सोमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यदात्मन स्तत्रो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vārt :—The elision of आ of 'âtman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as त्मन्यासमञ्जस मह्यम् ॥

ति विशतेडिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, डिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेस्तिशब्दस्य डिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicative ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विशकः = विशत्या क्रीतः (with ड्ङुन् V. 1. 24), विशं शतम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः, with डट् affix V. 2. 48), एकविशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicative ड'? Observe विशत्या ॥

टेः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (डिति, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विसंज्ञकस्य डिति प्रत्ययेपरतो लोपो भवति ॥

143. Before an affix having an indicative इ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुमुदन्, नडुन् and वेतस्वन् with इन्तुप् (IV. 2. 87). So also त्रिशता कृतः = त्रिशकः with इवुन् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicative ड ॥ Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the kṛit affix ड) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टेः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेलोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुथुमितैतिलिजाजलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसप्तसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अश्मनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अव्ययानां च सायंप्रातिकाद्यर्थमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आग्निशर्मिः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from अग्निशमन्, उडुलोमन्, and सरलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इश् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe शर्मणा, शर्मणे ॥

Vārt:—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. सब्रह्मचारिन्—सब्रह्मचाराः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठसर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10. सूकरसप्तन्—सौकर सप्ताः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI, 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vārt:—अश्मन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आश्मः, otherwise आश्मनः ॥

Vārt:—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse': as, चर्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चर्मणः ॥

Vārt:—The अन् of श्वन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vārt:—The Indeclinables like सायंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the टि elision: as सायंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, कौतस्कुतः (formed by ठ् IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes क्यु and क्युल्, as आरातीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ Pāṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of शाश्वतिक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अहृष्टखोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, ट, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहर्त्रित्येतस्य टखोरेव परतटिलोपो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहः समूहे खां वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus द्वे अहनी समाहूते = द्व्यहः, त्र्यहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). द्वे अहनी अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = द्व्यहीनः, त्र्यहीनः (with ख V. 1. 87).

Vārt:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with डच् V. 1. 79). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvan, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाभ्रव्यः from बभ्रू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डु, शङ्खव्यं शरु (from शङ्कु), पिचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्या मृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परशव्यमयः, औषगवः, काषटवः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

ढे लोपो ऽकट्वाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढे, लोपः, अ, कट्वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकट्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Kaṭrû'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, शैतिवाहेयः, जाम्बेयः, माद्रवाहेयः, Lut काट्वेयो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य ईकारे परं तद्धितं च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यस्यलौङः इयां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ्भ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

148. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus राक्षी, हाक्षी, सखी from राक्षि, हाक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as शक्ति + ई = शक्ती ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding इ ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अतिसखि ॥ From the word सखी formed by डीष् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखीमतिक्रान्तः = अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samâsânta affix टच् is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form सखि and not to the feminine सखी). Now if in forming सखि + ई = सखी, had we not elided the letter इ of खि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both इ + ई, would be considered as like the final इ of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non-चि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded from चि class. Not being a चि, we cannot have the form अतिसखेः in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding इ before the feminine ई, so that the ekâdeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short इ is elided before Taddhita affixes :—दुलि—दौलेयः, बलि—बालेयः, अत्रि—आत्रेयः ॥ अ is elided before ई as :—कुमार—कुमारी, गौर—गौरी, शार्ङ्गरव—शार्ङ्गरवी ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita :—रक्ष—राक्षिः, हक्ष—हाक्षिः, चूड—चाँडिः, बलाका—बालाकिः, सुमित्रा—सौमित्रिः ॥

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus काण्ड + ई = काण्डे; कुड्ये ॥ सौर्य + ई = सौर्ये (the य would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛitti of श्यां (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vārt :—इयङ् and उवङ् are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus इयङ् and उवङ् have unimpeded scope in श्री or भू + औ or भस् (जस्), as श्रियौ, श्रियः, भ्रुवौ, भ्रुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कण्डलू—कामण्डलेयः (with ढञ् IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रवाहेयः ॥ But in वत्सप्री + ढञ् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वात्सपेयः (वत्सं प्रीणाति = वत्सप्रीः, तस्यापत्यं); so also लेखाभुः—लेखाभ्रेयः with the ढक् affix, this word belonging to Śubhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (इति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिष्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया भस्य लोपो भवति इति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ मत्स्यस्य डधामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च डधां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि ॥

वा० ॥ भन्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककाराग्निस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, भाषुवात्तं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे तारेश्च ॥ वा० ॥ काविलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणैकादिक = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3. 112 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीप् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यस्यापत्यं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114), आगस्तीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीप् as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sūtra would mean सूर्यादीनां भसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य स्त्री = सूरी, आगस्त्यस्य स्त्री = आगस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c: and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आश्रय must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + अ लोपा + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण्, thus, सूर्य + अण् = सौर्य् + ० + अण् (last sūtra) = सौर्य ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य् + ० + अ (of अण्) + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here य् cannot be elided, as it is not upadhā or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आश्रय) are different. Hence we have the elision of य् by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the य् here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य + ई = सौर्य् + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus य् is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य्, their scope being the same. So being considered asiddha, य् still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthānivat-bhāva, because for purposes of यलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य्? Observe मत्स्यचरी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix चरद् is added to मत्सी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूतपूर्वा ॥ Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मत्स्यचर ॥ This word takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicative इ ॥ Thus मत्स्यचर+ई, and the word is भ, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मत्स्यस्येवं मांसं = मात्स्यम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vart :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः = तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तसि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तितः in अन्तितो न दूरात् (V. 4. 45).

Vart :—Before the affix तम, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तितमः, in अग्रे स्वं नो अन्तमः अन्तितमे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीरति = अन्तिषत् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix य, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix यत् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्ताद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः इति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्य उपधाया इति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of “taddhita” ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्गी, वात्सी from गार्ग्य and वात्स्य ॥ Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant’? Observe कारिकेयी ॥ Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe वैद्यस्य भार्या = वैद्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धिते ऽनाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्गाणां समूहः = गर्गकम् from गर्ग्य, वात्सकम् from वात्स्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic य'? Observe सांकाश्यकः, काम्पित्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सौमी इष्टिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गार्ग्यायनः, वात्स्यायनः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिकेयस्यापत्यं = कारिकेयिः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गार्ग्ययोः, वात्स्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्चयोश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्चि इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपो भवति ॥

152. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix च्चि ॥

Thus वात्सीयति or वात्सीयते गार्गीयति, or गार्गीयते ॥ So also गार्गीभूतः, वात्सीभूतः ॥ But सांकाश्यायते (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाश्याभूतः ; and not also in कारिकेयीयति, कारिकेयीभूतः, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-भादिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्धिते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडादिषु बिल्वाद्यः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकादयो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Naḍādi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वेणुकीयाः—वैणुकाः, वैत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वेतसकीयाः, वेतसकाः, तृणकीयाः, तार्णकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कापोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कुच्चा by the Vārtika कुञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, कौञ्चकाः ॥ छग्रहणं किम्, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात् कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूदिति, ॥ अन्यथा हि संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापथे उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुगपि निवर्त्तेत ॥ लुग्रहणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्याद् यकारमात्रस्य मा भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापथे (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपाथः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥

तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ठ, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच् ईयसुन् इत्येतेषु परतः तृशब्दस्य लोपो भवति ॥

154. The affix तृ is elided before the affixes इष्टन्, इमनिच् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्ठः, विजयिष्ठः, बहिष्ठः, बोहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix तृ is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (दि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛitti of लुक् of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by लुक्, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in विजायिष्ठ and करिष्ठ ॥ See V. 1. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix इमन् has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of तृ followed by इमन्; तृ is followed by इष्ट and ईयस् by V. 3. 59.

टेः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (भस्य लोपः इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेलोपो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य पुंवङ्गावरभावदिलोपयणादिपरविन्मतोर्लुक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् follow.

Thus पदिष्ठः, पदिमा, and पदीयान् from पटु, and लघिष्ठः, लघिमा and लघीयान् from लघु ॥

Vart:—The Prâtipadika followed by the causative णि, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix इष्ट followed it. Those changes are (1) पुंवङ्गावः the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाचष्टे = एतयति, इयतयति ॥ इष्ट belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculation by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of क् to र, as पृथुमाचष्टे = प्रथयति, म्रथयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) दिलोपः—as, पटुमाचष्टे = पटयति, लघयति by this sūtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्थूलमाचष्टे = स्थवयति ॥ According to the school of Bhâradvâja, three more purposes are served: (5) विन् मतोर्लुक्—as स्राग्वण-माचष्टे = स्रजयति, वसुमन्तमाचष्टे = वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्विधिः—the substitution of कन् for युवन् and अल्प (V. 3. 64)—as युवानमाचष्टे or अल्पमाचष्टे = कनयति ॥ (7) प्रादि substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाचष्टे = प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, क्षुद्राणाम्, यण्, आदिपरम्, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र क्षुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्टे मेयस्सु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र ॥

That is ल, र, वन्, व, रं, and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; सविष्ठः सवीयान्; यविष्ठः यवीयान्; हसिष्ठः, हसीयान्, हसिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V. I. 122). क्षादिष्ठः, क्षादीयान्, क्षादिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणादिपरं i. e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i. e. य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बहिगर्बर्षित्रब्द्राधि-
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्र, दीर्घ,
वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बहि, गर्, बर्षि, त्रप्, द्राधि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृप्र दीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्येतेषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बहि गर् बर्षि त्रप् द्राधि वृन्द् इत्येते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्टमेयस्सुपरतः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्ठः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बहिष्ठः, बहीयान्, बहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वर्षिष्ठः, वर्षीयान्; तृप्, त्रपिष्ठः, त्रपीयान्; दीर्घ, द्राधिष्ठः, द्राधीयान्, द्राधिमा; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीयान्; प्रियोरुगुरु-बहुलदीर्घाः पृथ्वादिषु पठ्यन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमानिञ् न भवतीति नोदाह्रियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. I. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, लोपः, भू, च, बहोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरस्यामिष्टमेयसां लोपो भवति तस्य च बहोः स्थाने भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

158. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ट, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. I. 54 and 67, बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई; in this case. ॥ बहु belongs to Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. I. 122) The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthâni, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्टस्य यिद् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टस्य, यिद्, च, (बहोः भू च बहोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरस्य इष्टस्य यिडागमो भवति बहोश्च भूमादेशो भवति ॥

159. After बहु, the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥ This augment यिद् debars the lopa substitution, of the last sūtra, in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being य् ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इष्ठ, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening यिद् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before यस् by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावधिः 'when an operation which is taught in the aṅgādhikāra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.' In VII. 4. 25, however, क्तिङ्त् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रस्य आदेशो भवति ककारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिष्टेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पृथुं वृद्धं वृषं चैव कृशं च दृढमेव च ।

परिपूर्वं वृद्धं चैव षडेतान् रविधौ स्मरेत् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रयिष्ठः, प्रयीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), मरिष्टः, मरीयान् and मरिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the क'? Observe पटिष्ठः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe कजिष्ठः, कजीयान् ॥ Why do we say 'when prosodially short'? Observe कृष्णिष्ठः, कृष्णीयान्, कृष्णिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—पृथु, वृद्ध, वृष, कृश, दृढ, परिवृद्ध ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मान्, भान्, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥

विभाषजोश्छन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋजु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थाने विभाषा रेफ आदेशो भवति इष्टेमेयस्सु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of ऋजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and कजिष्ठः, in रजिष्ठमेति पन्थानम्, त्वष्टजिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इष्टेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाज् यङ्सज्ञकं तद्विष्टमेयस्सु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus सजिष्टः, सजीयान्, सजयाति from सज्विन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सजयाति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vârtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्टः, सुचीयान् and सुचयति from सुज्वन्, the मनुप् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्टः from वसुमन् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vârt:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अक ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः=राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debars the elision of य् required by VI. 4. 151. So दूनो भावः=यौवनिकः with दुम् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इन्ण्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्तमनपत्यार्येणि परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांकुटिनम्, सांराविणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुण् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थे by V. 4. 15. So also साग्विणम् from सग्विन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe हण्डिनां समूहः=हण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अम् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं=मैधावः ॥

गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदथि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विदथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं=गाथिनः, वैदथिनः, कैशिनः, गणिनः, and पाणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिश्च इनणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्गिनेऽपत्यं=शाङ्गिनः, याद्विणः, वार्जिणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तमणि प्रकृत्या भवति अपत्ये चानपत्ये च ॥

167. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वैमनः, सौत्वनः, जैत्वनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन and जित्वन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकाराद्यौ च तद्धिते ऽभावकर्मणोरर्थयोरन् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

168. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा=राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitâdi class and takes यक् (V. 1. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्येतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं=आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9), अध्वानमलङ्कामी (V. 2. 16)=अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samâsanta affix दृच् added to the avyayîbhâva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by भच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वो ऽपत्ये ऽवर्मणः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्मणः, (अणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वो ऽन् अवर्मणाणि परतो ऽपत्येर्धे न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिषेधे वा हितनाम्न इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुषाम्णोऽपत्यं=सौषामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सौत्वनः, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृत्तो रथः=चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं=चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vârt :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं=हेतनामः or हेतनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारेण सामर्थ्या दपत्यादन्यत्राणि देर्लोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्यइत्येव अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणश्चिलोपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jâti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्मं हविः, ब्राह्ममस्त्रम् ; ब्राह्मो नारदः ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jâti ; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix : as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jâti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कार्म्मस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्म्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म्म इति ताच्छील्ये टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tâchchhîlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim:—ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though डीप् is added, to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण-formed words, in the feminine: as चौरी; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इदम् = कार्म्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येणि टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्षणः = उक्ष्णो ऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्वाशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवै-
क्ष्वाकमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक,
जैह्वाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐक्ष्वाक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैह्वाशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐक्ष्वाक
मैत्रेय हिरण्मय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed ; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Âtharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmâśineya, 5. Vâsināyani, 6. Bhraṇḥatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sârava, 9. Aikshvâka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) ण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from ण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is क् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: ण्डिनोऽपत्यं = ण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशने and वासिन् are Jaihmâśineya and Vâsināyani, the former with the affix इक् of the Subhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix किञ् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त = भ्रूणह्नो भावः, धीव्नो भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicative ण or ञ् by VII. 3. 32: it might be said त would be added to भ्रूणहन् before व्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like औणशी, वार्त्तनः ॥ The त in Bhraṇḥatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वां भवः = सारवमुत्कं ॥ (9) The son of ईक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final इ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final इ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकैः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grīṣṭyâdi class IV. 1. 136, and takes इञ् as मित्रयु + एय, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of इ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with वुञ् under IV. 3. 126; but we require वुञ्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (II) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

ऋत्वावास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्वा, वास्त्व, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्वा वास्त्व वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : Ritvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiranyaya.

The word ऋत्वा is derived from ऋतु, and वास्त्व from वास्तु with the affix यत्, उ being changed to व ॥ ऋतौ भवम् = ऋत्वा, वास्तौ भवम् = वास्त्वम् ॥ वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix अण् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix अण् in the feminine, as माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्यय is from हिरण्य with the affix मयद्, the म being elided.

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